THE HISTORIES OF THE LIVES and RAIGNES OF HENRY the III. AND HENRY The Fourth. Kings of *England.*

Written, by
Sr. ROBERT COTTON. } Knights.
And
Sr. JOHN HAYWARD. }

LONDON,
Printed for *William Sheares* at the *Bible* in *Bedford-street* in *Covent-Garden*, 1661.

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A SHORT VIEW OF THE LONG RAIGN OF KING HENRY the third.

WEaried with the lingring calamities of Civill Armes, and affrighted at the ſudden fall of a licentious Soveraigne, all men ſtood at gaze, expecting the event of their long deſires (Peace) and iſſue of their new hopes (Benefit.) For in every

shift of Princes there are few, either so meane, or modest, that please not themselves with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose Innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various dangers of his Fathers Raigne: Happy was hee in his Vnkle the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the guide of his infancy; and no lesse then for thirty yeares after, whil'st *De Burgo*, that fast servant of his Fathers against the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, and others of like gravity and experience did mannage the affaires. Few and no other were the distempers then in State, but such as are incident to all, the Commons greedy of liberty, and the Nobility of Rule, and but one violent storme raised by some old and constant followers of his Father, *Fulco de Brent de Fortibus*, and others, men that could onely thrive by the Warres, misliking those dayes of sloath (for so they termed

Hist. Minor. Mat. Paris.

Matth. Paris. Hist. Major.

med that calme of King *Henries* Government;) and the rather because the Iustice of quiet times urged from them to the lawfull owners, such Lands and Castles, as the fury of Warre had unjustly given them, for finding in the uprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not bee made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that with it, ended their lives and competitours, professing that those their swords that had set the Crowne upon their Soveraignes head, when neither Majesty nor Law could, should now secure those small pittances to their Maisters, when Majesty or Law would not. Dangerous are too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind onely capable of merit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the State after this feele, but such as is incident in all, the malice to Authority: Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from envy: for the greatest in trust of publike affaires are still shot at by the

Hist. St Albani

aſpiring of thoſe that deeme themſelves leſſe in imployment then they are in merit. Theſe vapours did ever and eaſily vaniſh ſo long as the helme was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tied his Actions to the rule of good Counceil, and not to young, paſſionate, or ſingle adviſe.

Chron. de Duneſt Ioan. de Walingford.

Thirty yeares now paſſed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *De Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation,) whoſe length of dayes giving him the advantage of ſole power, his owne Ambition and age gave him deſire, and Art, to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatall envy of moſt, and that encreaſed in the Title of Earle, and great Offices the King then gave him. *Time* by this, had wrought, as in it ſelfe, ſo in the hearts of the people, a Revolution, the afflictions of their Fathers forgotten, and the ſurfeit of long peace; perchance having let in ſome abuſes; from hence, the Commons to whom dayes preſent ſeeme ever worſt,

worſt, commend the foregone ages they never remembred, and condemne the preſent, though they knew neither the diſeaſe thereof, nor the remedy.

To theſe idle and uſuall humours, fell in ſome of the yong and noble Spirits, warme and over-weaning (who being as truly ignorant as the reſt) firſt by ſullying the wiſedome of the preſent, and greateſt Rulers, (making each caſuall mishap their errours:) ſeeme to decipher every blemiſh in Government, and then by holding certaine imaginary and fantaſtick formes of Common-wealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any State, to theſe generall rules, which in particular application will prove idle and groſſe abſurdities. *Chron. de Litchfeld.*

Next confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to worke themſelves into action, and imployment, a thing they had long deſired, and now (though unwilling to ſeeme ſo) doe *Gval. de Coven.*

ſue for; and doubtleſſe, the furtheſt of their aime was yet, to become quiet inſtruments in ſerving the State, if they had beene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new Earle, That *Conſilia ſenum haſtas juvenum eſſe*; and that ſuch wits, (for ſo they would bee ſtiled), were *Nevandis quàm gerendis rebus aptiores*; fitter in being factious to diſorder, then to ſettle affaires, either denied or delayed their deſires; for wiſe Princes will ever chooſe their Inſtruments *Par negotiis*, and not *ſupra*, Creatures out of meere election, that are onely theirs, otherwiſe, without friends or power.

Mat. Paris. Hiſt. Miner.

Amongſt this unequall medly, there were of the Nobility, *Richard* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Gloceſter*, and *Hartford*, darlings of the multitude; ſome for the merit of their Fathers, whoſe memories they held ſacred, as Pillars of publike liberty and oppoſers of encroaching Monarchy; at *Runemeed* the Armies met. And of the Gentry, *Fitz-*

Fitz-Geffeory, Burdolph, Griſley, Maunſell and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much Acrimony and Arrogant ſpleene, as the places from whence they were elected, Campe, Court, or Countrey, could afford any: Theſe by force would effect what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient, to ſee their ends thus fruſtrate, and that ſo long as the King followed the direction of the Earle of *Kent*, they had ſmall hope of their deſires, they made often meetings; and as one ſaith of them, *Clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut ſlexum in veſperum die.* *Chron. Petri Pectavien.* *Mat. Paris.*

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the reſt, Gentlemen, by Forraine education and imployment, more qualified then uſually men of theſe times; and that ſet upon their owne deſerts; the beſt places when the Streame ſhould turne, (which one of them, *Spencer*, did unworthily obtaine, for he died in actuall Rebellion, *Juſticiarius Angliæ*, againſt his maſter) adviſed that the beſt meanes to remove

move that great and good obstacle, the Earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest being driven out by the worst, they shall either bee able to mate him with his owne vice, which will bee ever more visible, as hee is more potent, and so remove him at pleasure; or else give over the King to such Ministers, to their bad desires, as loosing him the hearts of his people, might smooth them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quieta Respublica desperant, perturbata consequi se posse arbitrantur.* Thus, Counsell heard, approved and put in practice, the corrupt, and ambitious Bishop is easily insnared to their part, by money and opinion, or increase of power.

Cicero in Cattal. sive Orat. prima.

Articles are in all haste forged, and urged against the Earle, as sale of Crowne land; waste of the Kings Treasure;

ſure; and laſtly, (that which theſe doubtfull times held capitall) his giving allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture betweene the Soveraigne and the Subjects, as hee had done in making way with the King, to annihilate all Patents granted in his nonage, and enforced the Subject to pay as the record ſaith, *Non juxta ſingulorum facultatem, ſed quicquid Juſtitiarius æſtimabat.* *Lib. Bermonſey vita Abbatiſ. Alban.*

Well? hee cleared himſelfe of all, but the laſt, and did worthily periſh by it; for acts that fill Princes Coffers, are ever the ruines of their firſt Inventers; bad times corrupt good Councels, and make the beſt Miniſters, yeeld to the luſt of Princes, therefore this King cannot paſſe blameleſſe, that would ſo eaſily blemiſh all former merits, of ſo good a ſervant, for that wherein himſelfe was chiefe in fault.

But Princes natures are more variable, and ſooner cloid then others, more tranſitory their favours, and as their minds are large, ſo they eaſily over-

over-looke their firſt election, tying their affections, no further then their owne ſatisfactions.

The Biſhop now alone manageth the State; chooſeth his chiefe inſtrument, *Peter de Rivallis*, a man like himſelfe; diſplaceth his natives, and draweth *Poictions* and *Brittons* into Offices of beſt truſt, and benefit; and the King into an evill opinion of his people. For nothing is more againſt the nature of the *Engliſh*, then to have Strangers rule over them: of this mans time, *Wendover*, an Authour then living, ſaith, *Iuditia commutuntur injuſtis Leges ex legibus Pax diſcordantibus juſtitia injurioſis.* Thus the plot of the tumultuous Barons went cleare, and had not the diſcreeter Biſhop calmed all by dutifull perſwaſions, and informing the King that the ſupport of this bold mans power (whoſe carriage before had loſt his Father, *Normandy*, the love of his people, and in that his Crowne) would by teaching the ſonne to reject in paſſion the juſt petitions of his loyall Sub-

Regis Roſſen.
Annalis de Ely.

Subjects, (as of late the Earle of *Pembrooke* his Earle Marſhall of *England* the due of his Office) drive all the State into diſcontent by his bad adviſe, and corrupt manners, doubtleſſe the rebellious Lords had ended this diſtemper, as their deſigne was, in a civill Warre.

Denials from Princes muſt bee ſupplied with gracious uſage, that though they cure not the ſore; yet they may abate the ſence of it; but beſt it is, that all favours come directly from themſelves; denials and things of bitterneſſe from their Miniſters.

Thus are the Strangers all diſplaced and baniſhed, *Rivallis* extortions ranſackt, by many ſtrict Commiſſions of enquiry; the Biſhop ſent away diſgraced, finds now that *Nulla quæſita ſcelere potentia diuturna*; and that in Princes favours there is no ſubſiſtance betweene the higheſt of all, and precipitation. The Lords ſtill fruſtrate of their malicious ends, beganne to ſow of theſe late grounds of the peoples diſcontent, *Querelas & ambiguos da*

Clauſ. anno 37. H. 3. M. 26. Chron. Hall.

de Principe sermones & quoq; alia turbamenta vulgi, and tooke it up a fashion to endeare and glorifie themselves with the senceleſſe multitude, by depraving the Kings discretion, and Governement, whose nature too gentle for such insolent Spirits, was forced (as *Trevet* saith) to seeke as hee presently did, advise and love amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home, all bore themselves like Tutors and Controllers, few like Subjects and Councellours. God wee see holdeth the hearts of Princes, and sendeth them such Councellours as the quality of the Subject meriteth.

Chron. Litchf.

Mat. Paris, Roger Wendover.

For *Mountford* a *Frenchman* became the next Object of the Kings delight, a Gentleman of choyce blood, education, and feature, on this mans content, the heady affection of the Soveraigne did so much Doate, that at his first entrance of Grace, in envy of the Nobility, hee made him Earle of *Leycester*; and in no lesse offence of the Clergy, by violating the rites of

of the holy Church, gave him his vowed, vailed ſiſter to wife: More of Art then uſually ſome have deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy, the ſtrength of his aſſurance, ſo both at his will.

Mountford made wanton thus with dalliance of his Maſter, forgetteth moderation, for ſeldome diſcretion in youth attendeth great and ſuddaine fortunes, hee draweth all publike affaires into his owne hands, all favours muſt paſſe from him, all preferments by him, all ſuites addreſſed to him, the King but as a cipher ſet to adde to this figure, the more of number. Great is the Soveraignes errour, when the hope of Subjects muſt recognize it ſelfe beholden to the ſervant, which ought immediately to bee acknowledged, from the goodneſſe and good election of himſelfe: Though Princes may take above others ſome repoſefull friend, with whom they may participate their neereſt paſſions; yet ought they ſo to temper. *Chron. Ioan. Sulgrave.*

per the affaires of their favour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principalities.

At this the great and graveſt men began to grieve, knowing the unworthy without honour, or merit, thus to deale alone in that which ſhould paſſe through their hands, and to leape over all their heads; to the greateſt Honour and Offices, and therefore runne along with the then riſing grace of the Kings halfe brethren, (though ſtrangers) hoping thereby to devide that power, which otherwiſe they ſaw impoſſible to breake.

Chron. Readirg. *Leyceſter* confident of his Maſters love, and impatient to beare either rivall in favour, or partner in rule, oppoſeth them all, but findeth in his ebbe of favour, the Fortune of others, and that this King could ever as eaſily transferre his fancy, as hee had ſetled his affection. Great wee ſee muſt bee the art and cunning of that man, that keepes himſelfe a floate in the ſtreame of Soveraignes favour, ſince the change

change of Princes wils, which for the moſt part are full of fancy and ſoone ſatiate are hardly arreſted: Who ſo would effect this, muſt onely attend the honour and ſervice of his Maſter, and diſpoiled of all other reſpects, transforme himſelfe into his inward inclination and worke into neceſſity of imployment, by undergoing the Offices of moſt ſecrecy, either of publick ſervice, or Princes pleaſures; hee muſt alſo beate downe Competitours of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne greatneſſe in publick, with a fained humility, and what impotency or Government hee affecteth, let it rather ſeeme the worke of others, out of conveniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raines of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious Lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe brethren: *Adam, Guido, Godfray*, and *William*, himſelfe as before; *Et magna Fortuna licentiam tantum uſurpans*: For to act his owne part, hee was ever wier-drawne when hee

H. Knighton. Mob. Leyceſt.

he had ſuch worthy ſervants as would often for his Honour urge it. For theſe Maſters, (as *Wallingford* termeth them) *Tanta elati jactantia quod nec ſuperiorem ſibi intelligunt, nec parem mellitis & mollitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis â ratione tramite declinantes*; doe alone what they liſt. They fill up the place of Iuſtice and Truſt, with their Countrey-men, ſtrangers exact of whom, how, and what they pleaſe, waſt the Treaſure and Crowne lands on themſelves, and their followers; ſet prices on all offences, and raine the Law within the rule of their owne Breaſts. The uſuall reply of their ſervants, to the plaints of the Kings Subjects, being *Quis tibi rectum faciet? Dominus rex vult; quod Dominus meus vult*; theſe Strangers ſeemed in their Lawleſſe carriage not to have beene invited, but to have entred the ſtate by Conqueſt: The great men they enforced not to obey, but to ſerve, and the meane to live ſo as they might juſtly ſay, they had nothing; yet leaſt the

Wil. de Riſhanger.

Lib. Monaſtery Ramſey.

the King ſhould heare the groanes of his people, and the wickednesse of his Miniſters, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all ſuch acceſſe: Suſpition being the beſt preſerver of her owne deſerts; aimeth at theſe, who hath more of vertue then themſelves, as fearing them moſt. Thus is the incapacity of Government in a King, when it fals to bee a prey to ſuch Lawleſſe Minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the State; all take warrant generally from Princes weakeneſſes, of licentious liberty and greatneſſe, makes profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to encreaſe ill, to encreaſe their gaines.

A Famine accompanieth theſe corruptions, and that ſo violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writes to all the Shires, *Ad pauperes mortuos ſepelicendos famis media deficientes*: Famine proceeds, *Fames præceſſit & ſecutus eſt gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis ſecura poſſit, Provincias peragare:*

Clauſ. anno 42. Hen. 3.

Chro. London.

agare : For all the Villages of the Kingdome were left a prey to the lawleſſe Multitude : Who *Per diverſas partes itinerantes velut per Conſentum aliorum*, (as the Record ſaith) did imply that the factious Lords ſuſpected by the King, had given ſome heat to that commotion ; Seditious Peeres bringing ever fewell to ſuch popular fires.

Wil. de Riſhanger.

Neither was the Church without a buſie part in this Tragick worke; for *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* of *Lincolne*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *Præ cordialiter adhærebant* were farre ingaged. In ſuch deſignes, Church-men are never wanting, and the diſtaſt of the preſent Government, (as well in the Church as in the Common-wealth) will ever bee a knot of ſtrength for ſuch unquiet Spirits, who as well frame to themſelves ſome other forme of Government; then the preſent in the Church, as in the temporall ſtate, as that which with the giddy multitude winneth beſt opinion, and did at this time fitly

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er, In remiſſione peccatorum ut *Mat. Pa-*
illam (meaning his Rebelli- *ris.*
ſque ad mortem aſſumeret, aſſe-
cem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ nun- *Wil. de*
ſine gladio materiali poſſe firma- *Riſharger.*
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A faire pretext was it to thoſe factious Biſhops, to uſe their bitter pens and ſpeeches, ſo farre againſt Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the ſentence of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treaſon at home; for hee enjoyned the Earle of *Leyceſter*, *In remiſſione peccatorum ut cauſam illam* (meaning his Rebellions) *uſque ad mortem aſſumeret, aſſerens pacem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ nunquam ſine gladio materiali poſſe firmari.* It was not the beſt Doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre, when the firſt Church roſe by faſting and prayer. *Mat. Paris.* *Wil. de Riſharger.*

True Piety binds the Subject to deſire a good Soveraigne, but to beare with a bad one, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended knee, rather in time ſo to deſerve abatement, then reſiſt authority.

Church-

Church-men therefore ought not alwayes to leade us in the rule of Loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties, in difficult points of Religion, where an humble ignorance, is a ſafe and ſecure knowledge, wee may rely upon them.

To ſuppreſſe theſe troubles, and ſupply the Kings extremity, a Parliament was called, much to the liking of thoſe Lords, who as little meant to releeve the King, as they did to acquiet the State, their end at that time being onely to open at home the poverty of their Maſter, to leſſen his reputation abroad, and to brave out their owne paſſions freely, whil'ſt thoſe times of liberty permit.

Barth. Cron.

Chron. Norwic.

Chron. Worc.

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the publick State, in taking to his private election the Iuſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer, that ſhould bee onely by the Common Councell of the Realme, commending much the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, for denying delivery of the great Seale, but in Parliament where he received it.

M. Paris.

Wendover.

They

They blame him to have beſtowed the beſt places of truſt and benefit in his gift on Strangers, and to leave the *Engliſh* unrewarded, to have undone the trade of Merchants, by bringing in Maltolts and heavy cuſtomes, and to have hurt the Common liberty, by *non obſtantes* in his Patents, to make good Monopolies for private favorites. *Wollingford. Paris. Wil de Riſharger.*

That hee hath taken from his Subjects, *Quicquid habuerunt in eſculentis & poculentis Ruſticorum enim equos bigas vina victualia ad libitum cepit.* *Chron. S. Albani.*

That his Iudges were ſent in circuites, under pretext of Iuſtice, to fleece the people, *Cauſis fictitiis quoſcunque poterant diripuerunt.*

And that Sir *Robert de Purſlowe* had wrong from the Borderers of his Forreſt, under pretence of encrochments or aſſarts, great ſummes of money.

And therefore, they wonder, that hee ſhould now demand reliefe from his ſo pilled and polled Commons, *Gual de Coventry*

who by their former extremities; *Et per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur, ut nihil aut parum habeant in bonis.* And therefore adviſed him, that ſince his needleſſe expence, *Poſtquam regni capit eſſe dilapidatur*, was ſummed up by them to above 800000. l. It were fitting to pull from his favorites, who had gleaned the Treaſure of his Kingdome, and ſhared the old Lands of the Crowne, ſeeing one of them there, whom the Lords deſcribed to bee *Miles litteratus*, or *Clericus militaris*, who had in ſhort ſpace from the inheritance of an acre, growne to the Poſſeſſion of an Earledome; and *Manſel* another inferiour Clarke that (beſides 50. promotions with the cure of ſoules) roſe to diſpend in annuall revenue 4000. markes, whereas more moderate Fees would have become a pen-man, no better qualified then with the ordinary fruits of a writing Schoole; yet if a moderate ſupply would ſuite with the Kings occaſions, they were content to performe ſo farre

Wil de Riſharger.

Chron. Litchf.

Hiſt. Minor.
Wil. de Riſharger.
Epiſt. Robert. Lincolne.

farre reliefe in Obedience, as the deſert of his carriage ſhould merrit toward them: And ſo as the Record ſaith, *Dies datur fuit in tres ſeptimanas ut interim Rex exceſſuos ſuos corrigeret, & Magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.* *Matth. Paris.*

At which day upon new grant of the great Charter, admittance to his Councell of ſome perſons elected by the Commons, and promiſe to rely upon his Natives, and not Strangers; for adviſe hereafter; they ſpare him ſuch a pittance as muſt tie him to their Devotion, for a new ſupply. *Regis Roſſen.* *Johan. de Wallingford.*

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a medicine to heale up any rupture in Princes fortunes, are now growne worſe then the mallady, ſith from thence more malignant humours beganne to raigne in them, then well compoſed tempers.

The King by this, experienced of the intents of his rebellious Lords, and finding that the want of Treaſure was the way whereby they inthralled *Chron. de Litchf.*

his Majeſty, begins now to play the good huſband cloſeth his hand of waſt, and reſolves himſelfe (too late) to ſtand alone, ſuch experience is pernitious to the private, and dangerous to the publique good of a State, when it never learnes to doe, but by undoing, and never ſees order, but when diſorder ſhewes it. Yet ſtill, alas, ſuch was his flexibility, when hee came to bee preſſed by his *French* Minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaſt deſires, and endleſſe waſt. So that an Authour then living, ſaith, it became a by-word, *Our inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houſes to Strangers.* Followers to a King exceſſive in guifts, are exceſſive in demands, and cut them not out by reaſon, but by example: Favours paſt are not accompted, wee love no bounty but what is meerely future; the more that a Prince weakeneth himſelfe in giving, the poorer hee is of friends: For ſuch prodigality in a Soveraigne, ever ends in the rapine and ſpoile of his Subjects.

Yet

Yet before the King would againe ſubmit himſelfe, as hee had the laſt Parliament, to ſo many brave and ſtrict inquiries of his diſloyall Subjects, hee meaneth to paſſe through all the ſhifts, that extremity of need, with greatneſſe of mind could lay upon him. Hee beginneth firſt with ſale of Lands, and then of Iewels, pawneth *Gaſcoyne*, and after that, his Imperiall Crowne, and when hee had neither credit to borrow, (having ſo often failed, the truſt hee had made,) nor pawnes of his owne, hee then layeth to pawne the Iewels and Ornaments of St. *Edwards Shrine*; and in the end, not having meanes to deſtray the diet of his Court, was enforced to breake up houſe, (and as *Paris* ſaith) with his Queene and Children, *Cum Abbatibus & Prioribus ſatis humiliter Hoſpitia quæſivit & prandia.*

Clauſ. anno 46. & 47 Hen. 3.

Clauſ. anno 37. Hen. 3.

This low ebbe, which againe the Kings improvidence had brought him to, gave great aſſurance to the Rebellious Lords, that they ſhould now at the laſt, have the Soveraigne

power, left a prey to their ambitious deſignes, and to bring it faſter on, they deſire nothing more, then to ſee the Kings extremity: Conſtraine a Parliament, for at ſuch times, Princes are ever leſſe then they ſhould bee, Subjects more.

Wil. de Riſhanger. To haſten on the time, and adapt the meanes, there are ſowne certaine ſeditious rumours, that the Kings neceſſity muſt repaire it ſelfe upon the fortunes and bleſſings of his people, that having nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: For Kings may not want, as long as the Subjects have meanes to ſupply.

This tooke fire juſt to their minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtleſſe had flamed higher, if the King had not aſſwaged it by Proclamations, wherein hee declared, *Quod quidam malivoli ſiniſtra prædicantes, illis falſo ſuggeſſerant, illum velle eos indebite gravari,*

Clauſ. anno 49. lib. 3.

gravari, ac jura & libertatos Regni ſubvertere, & per ſuggeſtiones illas doloſas & omnina falſas eorum corda à ſua maledictione, & fidelitate averterent, but deſireth, that, *Hujuſmodi animorum ſuorum perturbationibus ne finem adhiberent*, for that hee was ever ready to defend them from the oppreſſion of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura & conſuetudinis eorum debitas bonas, & conſuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius obſervare*, and that they may reſt of this ſecure: *De voluntate ſua libera litteras ſuas fecit patentes.* But ſeeing ſtill, that Majeſty and right ſubſiſt not without meanes and power, and himſelfe had of neither, ſo much as would ſtop the preſent breach in his owne wants, or his Subjects loyalties, hee flieth to the boſome of his people, for reliefe and Councell.

At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, where his neceſſity, met ſo many undutifull demands, that hee was forced to render up to their Rebellious will, his Royall power. *Parl. Oxon.*

Heere the Commons knowing that, *Quum elegere inceperunt*, they were *Loco libertatis*, ſtood with the King to have the managing of the State, put to the care of twenty foure, whereof twelve by their election, (whereto they looke ſtrictly) and the other by him, who in all things elſe, was left a Cipher, and in this, whether by feare, or remiſſenes, filled up his number with *Mountford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, which beſides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to thoſe his late oppoſites, an opinion of great intereſt they had got in his favour, hee now hath left neither election of publick office, nor private attendants, his halfe brethren and their followers, hee muſt diſpoile of all fortune, and exile by preſcription under his owne hand, commanding his writs, *Pro tranſportatione fratrum ſuorum*, to bee directed to the Earles of *Hartford* and *Surrey*, and not to paſſe either their Money, Armes, or Ornaments, *Niſi in forma quàm dicti Comites injunxerent*, and after their departure

Matth. Paris. Chron. Worc.

Chron. Litchf.

ture enjoyned the men of *Briſtoll*, that they ſhould not permit any Strangers, *Sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu*, but ſo to behave themſelves therein, that as well the King, *Quàm Magates ſui eos merito debeant commendare.* *Clauſ. anno 49. Hen. 3.*

Thus wee ſee, how eaſily mens eſtates doe change in a moment, and how hard it is to make uſe of all things ill gotten.

Richard elect. of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond Sea, muſt bee wrought by letter, as his free deſire to confirme by oath thoſe former reſtrictions of regall power; which though performed, yet would the Lords ſuffer neither the one or the other, to enter *Dover* Caſtle (the key of the Kingdome) which they had furniſhed, as moſt of the other Fortes of reputation in the Realme with Guardians of their owne, ſworne reſpectively to the State; and then taking the like aſſurance of all the Shrieffes, Bailiffes, Coroners, and other publick Miniſters, ſearching the *Chron. S. Albani.* *Regis Reſ. ſen.*

Rot. in Scrio. Wil. de Riſhanger.

behaviour of many by ſtrict Commiſſion upon oath, to winne opinion in ſhew among the Vulgar, who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after proved, by diſplacing the faithfull ſervants of the King, to open a way, to their owne dependants.

Thus changing ſole power into the rule of many, and thoſe by popular election, made the State beleeve, that this forme of limited policy, they had utterly ſuppreſſed the mind of man, for ever dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licencious Soveraignty: But it fell out nothing ſo, for now every man beganne to eſtimate his owne worth, and to hammer his head on every deſigne, that might enlarge his power and command.

Then beganne the great men to rent from the body of the Crownes, and regall Signiories, all ſuch royall Suitours as neighboured any of their owne ſeats, whereto they enforce their ſervice,

Scacar.

ſervice, and ſo (as the Record ſaith) *Ad ſectas indebitas, & ſervitutes intolerabiles ſubditos Regis compulerunt:* Thus raiſing meane manners to become great Honours, and renting a ſunder the regall Iuſtice, they made themſelves of ſo many Subjects whil'ſt they lived in duty, *Totidem Tiranni* (as the booke of Saint *Albans* ſaith) when they had left their loyalty, *Magnas induxerunt Magnates Regni, ſuper ſubditos Regis ſervitutes & oppreſſiones*, which they bore patiently; for exceſſe of miſery having no eaſe but Cuſtome, made men willing to lay the foundation of ſervitude by the length of ſufferance, which found no eaſe or end, untill the quiet of this Kings raigne.

Rot. Regis in Scbua. 56. H. 3.

Mountford, *Gloceſter*, and *Diſpencer*, the heads of this Rebellious deſigne, having by the late proviſions drawne to the hands of the twenty foure *Tribunes*, of the people, the entire mannaging of the Royall State, and finding that power too much diſperced, toworke the end of their

Wellingford.

deſires,

deſires, forſt againe the King to call a Parliament, where they delivered over the authority of the twenty foure unto themſelves, and create a *Triumvirate, non conſtituendæ Republicæ cauſa*, as they firſt pretended, for their owne ends, and ſo in the intereſt of ſome private contented, the publike was ſtayed; but to make a ſpeedier way to one of them as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus*: Ambition is never ſo high, but ſhee thinkes ſtill to mount, that ſtation which ſeemed lately the top, is but a ſtep to her now, and what before was great in deſiring, ſeemes little being once in power.

Wil. de Riſhanger.

Chron. de Dunſt.

Ordinat. inter Reg. Lond.

Theſe three, elect nine Councellours, and appoint, *Quod tres ad minus alternatim ſemper in curia ſint*, to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of Caſtles, *Et de aliis Regni negotiis*, the chiefe Iuſtice, Chancellour, and Treaſurer, with all offices, *Majores & minores*, they reſerve the choyce of to themſelves, and bind the King to this hard bargaine upon ſuch ſtrong ſecurity; that hee

hee is conter ed under the great Seale, and Oath, to looſe to them the knot of Regall duty, whenſoever hee aſſumeth to himſelfe his Regall dignity, *Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos, inſurgere & ad gravamen noſtrum opem & operam dare at ſi nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune of whom ſhee had ſet a pittifull example of her inconſtancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the bare Title, and that at their leave, beggeth ſuccour from *Vrbane* the fourth, againſt his diſloyall Subjects. *Coven. Origin. ſub ſigillo.*

The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath, and contract, and armed him with Excommunications againſt all thoſe that returne not with ſpeed, to their due and old obedience, ſince promiſes made by men, which cannot ſay they are at liberty, are weake, and force hath no power to make juſt intereſt.

The Lords on the other ſide, that had imped their wings with Eagles feathers, and liked no game now, but what was raked out of the aſhes of Monar- *Chron. Litchf. Wil. de Riſhanger.*

Monarchy, made head againſt their Soveraigne, and to mate him the better, called in aid, ſome *French* forces: Thus the Common-wealth turned againe her ſword into her owne bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy, to the funerall of her liberty, ſo that it was a wonder, ſhee ſhould not at this time paſſe under a forraine ſervitude. And though theſe men were more truly ſenſible of their owne diſgrace, then of others miſery: Yet found they no better pretext for private intereſt then that of the publick.

Chr. Britanniæ.

Chron. Dunſt.

And therefore at the entry of this Warre, they cried liberty, although when they came neere to an end, they never ſpake word of it.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a reconciliation, but in vaine, for perſwaſions are ever unprofitable, when Iuſtice is inferiour to force.

Wil. de Riſharger.

The ſword decides the difference, and gave the two Kings, and their eldeſt Sonnes Priſoners. The perſon now as well as the regall power, thus

in

in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neither bound of ſecurity, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatneſſe (which now beganne to breake out betweene theſe mighty Rivals,) gave hope of, for *Leyceſter* meaning by ingroſſing from his partner, to himſelfe, the perſon of the King, and to his followers the beſt portion of the ſpoile, to draw more fruit from this advantage, then it ſhould in fellowſhip yeeld, diſſolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority with the ſame power, is ever fatall (wee ſee) to all great actions: For to fit minds to ſo even a temper, that they ſhould not have ſome motions of diſſenting is impoſſible.

Mountford having thus broken all faith with his confederates, and duty to his Soveraigne, left the path of moderation and wiſedome, to come to the King, by that of pride and diſtruſt. To him, he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object ever but

but order of the State, and ease of the people, that hee did not in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reine his desires, to his just power, and so no lesse to his Majesties content, if hee would bee ruled; which was to command the Fortes and Castles of his now opposite *Gloceſter*, and the rest into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a Law from his inferiour, but necessity in Soveraigne affaires doth often force away all formality; and therefore this poore Prince, who now at the Victors discretion, seemed to have beene onely raised to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man, suited himselfe with incomparable wisedome according to the necessity of the time; Neither did humility wrong Majesty, when there was no other meanes to containe Spirits so insolent, but dissembling. Hee therefore summoneth in his owne person the forts of his fastest friends, to yeeld to his greatest enemies. This hee enters in shew as his lod-

lodging, but in effect his prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme against his friends, and to receive now Law from him, to whom hee lately thought to give it. Thus *Leycester* is become a darling of the Common rout, who easily change to every new Master, but the best durst not saile along his fortune, by the light of his glory: Christall that fairely glistereth doth easily breake, and as the ascent of usurping royalty is slippery, so the top is shaking, and the fall fearefull. To hold this man then at the entry of his false felicity fully happy, was but to give the name of the Image to the mettle that was not yet molten, for by this, the imprisoned Prince was escaped, and fast assured of *Gloceſter*, by the knot of his great mind, and discontent, and both with the torne remainder of the loyall Army united, and by speedy march arrived unlooked for, neere *Evesham*, to the unarmed troupes of the secure Rebels, whom they instantly assailed, for it was no fit season to give time, when no

no time did aſſure ſo much, as expedition did promiſe.

Diſpencer and other Lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the beſt ſpeed for mercy, but could not breake out, being hurried along the ſtorme of the giddy multitude.

Publick motions depends on the conduct of Fortune; private on our owne carriage, we muſt beware of running downe ſteep hils, with weighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suo feruntur pondere*, ſtops are not then voluntary; but *Leyceſter* at that inſtant with the King, and out of the ſtorme might have eſcaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more reſolute by misfortune, ſo that hee could neither forſake his followers, nor his ambition; thus making adverſity the exerciſe of his vertue, hee came and fell.

The King by the bleſſed Fortune freed, and obeyed, beganne to ſearch the ground of his former miſery

miſery, and why that Vertue and Fortune that had ſo long ſetled and maintained under his Anceſtors the glory of his Empire, had caſt her in his time off, and conſpired with her Enemies, to her almoſt ruine, as if the *Genius* of the ſtate had quite forſooke her; Here hee finds his waſtfull hand had beene too quick, both over the fortunes and the bleſſings of his People, the griping Avarice of his Civill Miniſters and lawleſſe liberty of his Martiall followers, the neglect of grace, and breach of his word, to have loſt his Nobility at home, and neceſſity, his Reputation abroad, by making Merchandize of peace, and warre, as his laſt refuge; ſo leaving his old Allies became enforced to betake himſelfe to perſons doubtfull, or injured, and that by giving over himſelfe to a ſenſuall ſecurity and referring all to baſe greedy and unworthy Miniſters, whoſe Councels were ever more ſubtle then ſubſtantiall, hee had throwne downe thoſe pillars

Rot. part. 53. H. 3. M. 51. Riſhanger.

pillars of ſoveraignety, and ſafety, Reputation abroad, and Reverence at home.

Jo. Tuxeter, Mon. Bury.

Hee now therefore making ſweetneſſe and clemency the entrances of his regained Rule for the faults of moſt of the late Rebels hee forgot, a gracious kind of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences, others hee forgot, that they might live but to the glory of his goodneſſe, for the fewer killed, the more remaines to adorne the Trophee.

Rot. Cart. 51. 52. Hen. 3.

Tyrants ſhed bloud for pleaſure, Kings for neceſſity, yet leaſt his Iuſtice and power might too much ſuffer in his grace and mercy, ſome few hee puniſhed by ſmall fines, ſome by baniſhment, as the two guiltleſſe, yet unpittied Sonnes of the Arch-traitour. Treaſon ſo hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (wee ſee in this,) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlaſting ſuſpect, and what is ſuſpition in others is guilt in them: Vpon the conſtant followers of his broken fortunes hee beſtowed, but with

Clauſ. 52. H. 3. M. 29.

with a more wary hand then before the forfeiture of his enemies: Immoderate liberality hee had found but a weake meanes to winne love, for it loſt more in the gathering then it gained in the giving. This bounty beſtowed without reſpect, was taken without grace, diſcredited the receiver and detracteth from the judgement of the giver, and blunted the appetites of ſuch, as carried their hopes out of vertue and ſervice: Thus at laſt, hee learned that reward and reprehenſion juſtly laid, doe ballance Government, and that it much importeth a Prince, the hand to bee equall that holdeth the ſcale. *Chron. Dunſt.*

In himſelfe, hee reformed his naturall errours, Princes manners, though a mute Law have more of life and vigour then thoſe of letters, and though hee did ſometimes touch upon the verge of vice, hee forbore ever after to enter the circle.

His court wherein at this time, the faults of great men did not onely by approbation, but Imitation receive true

true comfort, and authority; for their crimes now became examples, and cuſtomes, hee purged very judiciouſly and ſeverely, ſince from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the Common ſtate.

Ordinat. author. Reg. aulæ Glauſ. 53. Hen. 3. Riſhanger.

Expence of houſe hee meaſureth by the juſt Rule of his proper revenew, and was heard often to ſay, that his exceſſe of waſt before had beene an iſſue of his Subjects bloud, the inſolency of his Souldiers made lawleſſe by the late liberties of Civill armes, hee ſpendeth in forraigne expedition. Having ſeene that the quiet Spirits underwent all the former Calamities, and the other never were ſatisfied but in the miſery of Innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad ſeeke out at home, as they had done before.

Pat. 53. & 54. Hen. 3. Comment. de Trail. baſton.

The rigour and corruption of his judiciall Officers hee examineth, and redreſſeth by ſtrict Commiſſion; For the ſence of their ſeverity, became a murmure of his owne cruelty.

The

The ſeats of Iudgement and Councell, hee filled up with men nobly borne. For ſuch attract with leſſe offence, the Generous ſpirits to reſpect and reverence. Their Abilities hee meaſureth not by favour, or by Private Information, as before, but by publike voice, for every man in particular may deceive and bee deceived, but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to diſcover now his owne Capacity, and what part hee meaneth to beare hereafter in all deliberate Expeditions, hee ſitteth himſelfe in Councell dayly, and diſpoſeth affaires of moſt weight in his owne perſon. For Councellours bee they never ſo wiſe or worthy, are but as acceſſaries, not principals, in ſuſtentation of the State; their Office muſt bee ſubjection, not fellowſhip, in conſiderations of moment, and to have ability to adviſe, not authority to reſolve.

For as to live, the Prince muſt have a particular ſoule ſo to rule his proper

proper and interne Councell; without the one hee can never bee truly man, without the other, hee ſhall never bee ſecurely a Prince; for it offendeth as well the Miniſter of (merit) as the people to force obedience to one uncapable of his owne greatneſſe, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull change to the generall State (ſo hopeleſſe lately to recover her former liberty, they ſought now for nothing but the mildeſt ſervitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

Hee that will lay (wee ſee) the foundation of greatneſſe upon popular love, muſt give them eaſe and Iuſtice, for they meaſure the bond of their obedience, by the good alwayes that they receive.

Barth. Coton. Chron. Normic.

This peace attended ever after his age and hearſe, and hee happily lived to faſhion his Sonne and Succeſſour, and to make him Partner of his owne experience and authority; whoſe owne hard education training him

him from that intemperance, which makes men inferiour to beasts: framed him to affect glory, and vertue; which made him superiour to men. So that all the Actions of his future Raigne were exact grounds of Discipline, and Policy; for his best successour to rule by after, who as hee was the first of his name since the Conquest, so was hee the first that setled the Law and State, deserving the Stile of *Englands Iustinian*, and freed this Kingdome from the wardship of the Peeres, shewing himselfe in all his Actions after, capable to Command not the Realme onely, but the whole World.

Thus doe the wrongs of our Enemies more then our owne discretions, make us sometimes both wise and fortunate.

FINIS.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF HENRY THE FOURTH. King of *England.*

Written by

Sr. JOHN HAYVVARD, Knight, and Doctor of Law.

London, Printed for *William Sheares*, and are to bee ſold at his Shop in *Bedford-Street*, in *Covengarden* neere the new Exchange, at the ſigne of the Bible, *An.* 1642.

Illustrissimo & Honoratissimo

ROBERTO

Comiti *Essexiæ & Eve*, Comiti Marescallo *Angliæ*, Vicecomiti *Herefordiæ*, & *Bourchier*: Baroni Ferrariis de *Chartley*, Domino *Bourchier & Lovein*. Regiæ Majestatis *Hippocomo*: Machinarum bellicarum Præfecto: *Academiæ Cantabrigiensis* Cancellario: Ordinis *Georgianii* Equiti aurato; Serenissimæ Domino *Reginæ* à sanctioribus Consiliis; Domino meo plurimum observando.

Ἄριστε καὶ γενναιότατε: *Optime & Nobilissime* (*inquit* Euripides) *ex qua sententia tu primus ac solus fere occurrebas* (*illustrissime comes*)

cujus nomen si Henrici *nostri fronti radiaret, ipse & lætior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus siquidem es, & presenti juditio, & futuri temporis expectatione: in quo, veluti recuperasse nunc oculos, cæca prius fortuna videri potest; Dum cumulare honoribus eum gisti, qui omnibus virtutibus est insignitus. Hunc igitur si læta fronte excipere digneris, sub nominis tui umbra (tanquam sub* Ajacis *clipio* Teucer *ille* Homericus) *tutissime latebit. Deus opt. max. celsitudinem tuam nobis, reique publicæ diu servet incolumem: quo nos viz. tam fide quàm armis potenti tua dextra defensi, ultique, diutina cum securitate tum gloria perfruamur.*

Honori tuo devotissimus.

I. Hayvvard.

A. P. *To the Reader.*

AMong all sorts of humane Writers, there is none that have done more profit, or deserved greater praise, then they who have committed to faithfull records of Histories, either the Government of mighty States, or the lives and acts of famous men: for by describing the order and passages of these two, and what events hath followed, what counsailes they have set forth unto us, not onely precepts, but lively patternes, both for private direc-

ctions and for affaires of State: whereby in short time young-men may be instructed; and old men more fully furnished with experience then the longest age of man can afford. And therefore *Cicero* reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when hee went from *Rome* to make warre against *Mithridates*, was altogether unskilfull in Military services: yet in the time of his Navigation hee so exercised himselfe, what with conference, and what with reading of Histories, that when hee came into *Asia*, by the judgement and confession of that great King, hee was preferred before all the Commanders that were before him. Hereupon when *Alexander Severus* did deliberate of any weighty matter, hee would especially take advise of men skilfull in

in Hiſtories, and not without good cauſe: for if (as *Afranius* ſaith) experience hath begot wiſedome, and memory as a Mother hath brought it forth; who are to bee better accompted then they whoſe memory is as it were a rich ſtore houſe, of theexperiences not of one age or Countrey, but of all times and of all Nations. And therefore it is no great marvaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her Husband *Odonatus* tooke upon her the State, not onely inſulted upon the *Romaines*, but held th- *Arabians*, the *Sarizens*, the *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractible people, in ſuch obedience, that although ſhee were both a woman and a *Barbarian*, yet they never ſtirred againſt her: for ſhee had perfectly read the *Romaine* Hiſtory in

Greeke, and alſo had her ſelfe abridged the *Alexandrian* and all the *Orientall* Hiſtories, whereby ſhee attained the higheſt pitch both of wiſedom and authority: for examples are of greater force to ſtirre unto vertue, then bare precepts, inſomuch as *Cicero* ſaid, that nothing could bee taught well without example. Therefore the *Lacedemonians* (as *Plutarch* writeth) did uſe upon feſtivall dayes to preſent unto their Sonnes certaine drunken ſlaves whom they called εἵλωτας: that by view of the vice, they might learne to avoid it; and *Hiſmenias* the *Thebane*, would ſhew to his Schollers, muſitians of all ſorts good and bad, inſtructing them to follow the one and not the other. And this is that which the *Apology* telleth of a certaine Coun-

Countrey-woman, who being hard favoured, and fearing leaſt ſhee ſhould bring forth children like her ſelfe, got many faire and beautifull pictures, which ſhee did dayly and ſtedfaſtly behold: the meaning whereof is, that by ſetting before us the acts and lives of excellent men, it is the readieſt way to faſhion our qualities according to the ſame.

Hereupon *Cicero* doth rightly call Hiſtory the witneſſe of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the meſſenger of antiquity. Hereby wee are armed againſt all the rage and raſhneſſe of Fortune: and hereby wee may ſeeme (in regard of the knowledge of things) to have travelled in all Countries, to have lived in all ages, and to have beene converſant in all affaires. Neither

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is that the leaſt benefit of Hiſtory, that it preſerveth eternally, both the glory of good men, and ſhame of evill. Some Philoſophers doe deny, that glory is to bee deſired: for vertue (ſay they) is a reward unto it ſelfe, and muſt not bee reſpected for the vaine and titular blaſtes of glory: yet in writing theſe things, they affect that eſpecially, which they eſpecially deprave. And indeed there is no man hath ſo horny hart ſtrings, (as *Perſius* ſpeaketh) who is not tickled with ſome pleaſure of praiſe, againe there is no man of ſo flinty a forehead, who is not touched with ſome feare of infamy and ſhame. Doe wee thinke that the valiant ſouldier thinketh no toile too tough, but boldly adventureth the hazard of all happes, becauſe hee is weary

weary of his life? death commeth by nature to all men alike, onely with difference of memory with posterity.

And I would thinke that Cities at the first were build'ed, Lawes made, and many things invented for the use of men, chiefly for desire of glory: which humour except the old Governours of Common-wealths, had thought necessary, they would never have fostered it as they did, with Garlandes, Statutes, Trophies and Triumphes, in which notwithstanding it is but temporary and short; but in Histories of worth it is onely perpetuall. This *Cicero* perceiving hee dealt with *Lucceius* to commit his actions to the monuments of his writings: and *Plinie* the younger did with that hee might bee mentioned

ned in the Hiſtories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, becauſe hee did foreſee that they ſhould never decay.

But theſe are ſuch as are not led away with a luſt, either to flatter or to deface, whereby the credite of Hiſtory is quite overthrowne. Yet the endeavour to curry favour, is more eaſily diſliked, as bearing with it an open note of ſervility; and therefore, *Alexander* when hee heard *Ariſtobulus* read many things that hee had written of him farre above truth, as hee was ſailing the floud *Hidaſpis*, he threw the booke into the River, and ſaid, that hee was almoſt moved to ſend *Ariſtobulus* after for his ſervile dealing; but envious carping carrieth a counterfeit ſhew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And

And ſince I am entred into this point, it may ſeeme not impertinent to write of the ſtile of a Hiſtory, what beginning, what continuance, and what meane is bee uſed in all matter, what things are to bee ſuppreſſed, what lightly touched, and what to bee treated at large: how credite may bee wonne, and ſuſpition avoided: what is to bee obſerved in the order of times, and deſcription of places, and other ſuch circumſtances of weight; what liberty a writer may uſe in framing ſpeeches, and in declaring the cauſes, counſailes, and events of things done: how farre hee muſt bend himſelfe to profit: and when and how hee may play upon pleaſure, but this were too large a field to enter into: therefore leaſt I ſhould runne into the fault of the

the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then their towne, I will heere close up, onely wishing that all our *English* Histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous *English*: that by pleasure in reading them, the profit in knowing them, might more easily bee attained.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF KING HENRY the fourth.

THe Noble and victorious Prince, King *Edward* the third, had his fortunate gift of a long and prosperous raigne over this Realme of *England*, much strengthened and adorned, by natures supply of seven goodly Sonnes. *Edward* his eldest Sonne, Prince of *Wales*, commonly called the Black

Black Prince: *William* of *Hatfield*: *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*: *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*: *Edmund* of *Langley*, Duke of *Yorke*: *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Duke of *Glouceſter*: and *William* of *Windſore*. Theſe Sonnes, during the life of their renowned Father, were ſuch ornaments and ſuch ſtayes to his eſtate, as it ſeemed, no greater could bee annexed thereunto. For neither armies, nor ſtrong holds are ſo great defences to a Prince, as the multitude of children: Fortes may decay, and forces decreaſe, and both decline and fall away, either by variety of fortune, or inconſtancy of mens deſires: but a mans owne bloud cleaveth cloſe unto him; not ſo much in the bliſſes of proſperity, which are equally imparted to others, as in the Croſſes of calamity, which touch none ſo neere, as thoſe that are neereſt by nature. But in ſucceeding times, they became in their off-ſpring, the ſeminary of diviſion and diſcord, to the utter ruine of their families, and great waſt and weakening of the whole Realme:

Realme: for they that have equall dignity of birth and bloud, can hardly ſtoope to termes of ſoveraignty, but upon every offer of occaſion will aſpire to endure, rather no equall then any ſuperiour, and for the moſt part, the hatred of thoſe that are neereſt in kind, is moſt diſpitefull and deadly if it once breake forth. The feare of this humour cauſed *Romulus*, to imbrew the foundations of the City and Empire of *Rome*, with the bloud of his brother *Remus*. According to which example, the Tyrants of *Turkie*, thoſe butchers of Sathan, doe commonly at this day begin their raigne, with the death and ſlaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward* the thunderbolt of Warre in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although, hee was cut off in the middle courſe, and principall ſtrength of his age, yet in reſpect of honour and fame, hee lived with the longeſt, having in all parts fulfilled the meaſure of true Nobility. Hee left behind him a young Sonne called

called *Richard*, who after the death of King *Edward*, was crowned King in his ſtead, and afterward dyed childleſſe.

William of *Hatfield* King *Edwards* ſecond Sonne, dyed alſo without iſſue, leaving no other memory of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionel Duke of *Clarence*, the third Sonne of King *Edward*, was a man of comely perſonage, of ſpeech and pace ſtately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither to bee admitted nor contemned, as rather void of ill parts, then furniſhed with good. Hee had iſſue *Philip* his onely Daughter, who was joyned in marriage to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of *March*: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, was in the right of his Wife, declared Heire apparant to the Crowne, in caſe the King ſhould die without Children; but not many yeares after hee dyed, leaving iſſue by the ſaid *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*. This *Roger* was ſlaine in the rude and tumul-

tumultuous Warres of *Ireland*, and had iſſue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Elinor*, *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without iſſue. *Anne* was married to *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, Sonne to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of *Yorke*, the fift Sonne of King *Edward*. Of theſe two came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*: who by the right devolved to him from his Mother, made open claime to the Crowne of *England*, (which was then poſſeſſed by the family of *Lancaſter*) firſt by Law, in the Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of King *Henry* the ſixt: where either by right or by favour, his cauſe had ſuch furtherance, that after King *Henry* ſhould die, the Crown was entailed to him, and to the Heires of his bloud for ever. But the Duke impatient to linger in hope, choſe rather to endure any danger, then ſuch delay: Whereupon hee entred into armes ſoone after, againſt King *Henry* in the field. But being carried further by courage, then by force, hee could beare through, hee was ſlaine at the battaile

battaile of *Wakefield*, and left his title to *Edward* his eldest Sonne: who with invincible perſiſtance did proſecute the enterpriſe, and after great variety of fortune at the laſt atchieved it.

John of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardy Spirit, but his fortune was many times not anſwerable, either to his force or to his forecaſt. Hee had two Sonnes *Henry* Earle of *Derby* (of whom I ſuppoſe chiefly to treat) and *John* Earle of *Somerſet*. This *John* was Father to *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, who had iſsue *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Richmond* mother to the Noble Prince, *Henry* the ſeventh.

Henry Plantagenet Earle of *Derby*, was likewiſe by his Mother *Blanch*, extracted from the bloud of Kings, being diſcended from *Edmund*, the ſecond Sonne of King *Henry* the third: by which line, the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* did accreve unto his houſe. Hee was a man of meane ſtature, well proportioned, and formally compact,

pact, of good ſtrength and agility of body, skilfull in armes, and of a ready diſpatch: joyntly ſhewing himſelfe both earneſt and adviſed in all his actions. Hee was quick and preſent in conceit, forward in attempt, courageous in execution, and moſt times fortunate in event. There was no great place of imployment and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glory, then refuſe either for perill, or for paines; and in ſervice hee often proved himſelfe not onely a skilfull Commander by giving directions: but alſo a good Souldier in uſing his weapon, adventuring further in perſon ſometimes, then policy would permit; his expences were liberall and honourable, yet not exceeding the meaſure of his receipts; hee was very courteous and familiar reſpectively towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regard, eſpecially with thoſe of the meaner ſort: for high humilities take ſuch deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more ſtrongly

ſtrongly drawne by unprofitable curteſies then by churliſh benefits. In all the changes of his eſtate, hee was almoſt one and the ſame man: in adverſity never daunted, in proſperity never ſecure; retaining ſtill his Majeſty in the one, and his mildneſſe in the other: neither did the continuance of his raigne bring him to a proud port and ſtately eſteeming of himſelfe, but in his latter yeares hee remained ſo gentle and faire in carriage, that thereby chiefely hee did weare out the hatred that was borne him, for the death of King *Richard*. Hee could not lightly bee drawne into any cauſe, and was ſtiffe and conſtant in a good: Yet more eaſie to bee either corrupted or abuſed by flattering ſpeeches, then to bee terrified by threats. To ſome men hee ſeemed too greedy of glory, making ſmall difference of the meanes whereby hee attained it; and indeed this honour in noble minds is moſt hardly over-ruled, and oftentimes it draweth even the wiſeſt awry. But before I proceed any further in deſcri-

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bing either the qualities, or acts of this Earle, I muſt write ſomething of the Raigne of King *Richard* the ſecond, his Coſin *Germaine*: ſo farre forth as the follies of the one, were either cauſes or furtherances of the fortunes of the other.

Richard Sonne to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, a little before deceaſed, was after the death of King *Edward* the third, crowned King over this Realme of *England*, in the eleventh yeare of his age: at which yeares the mind of man is like to the potters earth, apt to bee wrought into any faſhion, and which way ſoever it hardneth by cuſtome, it will ſooner breake then bend from the ſame. Now the gouernance of the King at the firſt was committed to certaine Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and Iuſtices. But either upon nicenes to diſcontent the King, or negligence to diſcharge their duty, every one was more ready with pleaſant conceits to delight him, then with profitable counſaile to doo him good:

for ſmooth and pleaſing ſpeeches need ſmall endeavour, and alwayes findeth favour: whereas to adviſe that which is meet, is a point of ſome paines, and many times a thankleſſe office. Hereupon two dangerous evils did enſue; flattery brake in, and private reſpects did paſſe under publike pretences.

In the third yeare of his Raigne, it was thought meete that this charge ſhould bee committed to one man, to avoid thereby the unneceſſary waſt of the Treaſure of the Realme, by allowing yearely ſtipend unto many. So by the whole conſent of the Nobility and Commons aſſembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwick*, and a competent penſion was aſſigned him, out of the Kings Exchequer for his paines. But the King being now plunged in pleaſure, did immoderately bend himſelfe to the favouring and advancing of certaine perſons, which were both reproveable

ble in life, and generally abhorred in all the Realme, and this was the cauſe of two great inconveniences: for many young Noble-men and brave Courtiers, having a nimble eye to the ſecret favours and diſlikes of the King, gave over themſelves to a diſſolute and diſhoneſt life, which findeth ſome followers when it findeth no furtherancers, much more when it doth flouriſh and thrive: the King alſo by favouring theſe, was himſelfe little favoured and loved of many: for it is oftentimes as dangerous to a Prince, to have evill and odious adherents, as to bee evill and odious himſelfe. The names of theſe men were *Alexander Nevill*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Robert Veere*, Earle of *Oxford*: *Michael Delapoole* afterwards Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Triſilian*, Lord chiefe Iuſtice, *Nicholas Brambre*, Alderman of *London*; and certaine others of no eminency, either by birth or deſert, but obſequious and pliable to the Kings youthfull humour.

Theſe were highly in credit with the King: theſe were alwayes next unto him, both in company and counſell: by theſe hee ordered his private actions: by theſe hee managed his affaires of ſtate: hee ſpared neither the dignity nor death of any man, whoſe authority and life withſtood their preferment. In ſo much as in the fifth yeare of his raigne, hee removed Sir *Richard Scroope*, from being Lord Chancellour of *England*, (to which office hee was by authority of Parliament appointed,) becauſe hee refuſed to ſet the great Seale, to the grant of certaine Lands, which had wantonly paſſed from the King: alleaging for his denial, the great debts of the King, and ſmall demerites of the parties, upon whom the King might caſt away and conſume, but ſpend in good order hee could not; advertiſing him alſo to have reſpect, that riote did not deceive him under the terme and ſhew of liberality: and that gifts well ordered procure not ſo much love,

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as placed without diſcretion, they ſtirre envy. This Chancelour was a man of notable integrity and diligence in his office, not ſcornefully turning away from the ragged coate of a poore ſuppliant, or pale face of a ſickly and feeble limmed ſuter, holding up their ſimple foiled bils of complaint, nor yet ſmothering his conſcience with partiall maintaining of ſuch as were mighty: but being alike to all, hee was ſoone diſliked of thoſe that were bad.

In the eight yeare of this Kings raigne, the deſtruction of the Duke of *Lancaſter* was intended likewiſe upon the like diſlike: the plot was laied by Iuſtice *Triſilian*, offences were deviſed, Appellours appointed, and Peeres named; hee ſhould have beene put under arreſt ſuddenly, and forthwith arraigned, condemned, and executed. But the Duke upon privy intelligences of theſe contrivances, fled to his Caſtle at *Pomfret*, and there made preparation for his defence againſt the King. So this mat-

ter beganne to grow to a head of diviſion, which the Common people at that time very buſily, deſired and ſought: but the Kings Mother travelling inceſſantly betweene the King and the Duke; (notwithſtanding ſhee was both corpulent and in yeares) laboured them both to a reconcilement: the King, with regard of the dangerous and diſcontented times: the Duke, with reſpect of his duty and faith: and ſo partly by her entreaty and adviſe, partly by their inclination bending to the ſafeſt courſe, all apparancy of diſpleaſure on the one part, and diſtruſt on the other, was for that time layed aſide.

The ſame yeare, *Michael Delapoole* was made Chancellour of *England*, and created Earle of *Suffolke*: and *Robert Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, was created Marqueſſe of *Dublin*, being the firſt man within the Realme that was enobled with that title. But as they grew in honour, ſo did they in hate: for many Noble-

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men did infinitely ſtomack their undeſerved advancements, and with theſe the favour of the People generally went: but the Kings intemperate affection was peremptory and violent, not regarding envy untill hee could not reſiſt it.

The yeare next following, *Robert Veere*, the new Marqueſſe, was created Duke of *Ireland*. This yeare, the Knights and Burgeſſes of Parliament, put up many complaints againſt the Earle of *Suffolke*, upon which they deſired his anſwers and triall: namely, how hee had abuſed the King in taking of him to farme all the profits and revenues of the Crowne: how wantonly hee waſted the treaſure of the land in riotous liberality, and unneceſſary charges: how deepe hee had dived into the Kings debt: how careleſſe and corrupt hee was in his office: how greatly hee had both deceived and diſcredited the King in certaine dealings and accounts particularly expreſſed: with divers other imputatious

touching dishonour and dishonesty, both in private action and in office. This Earle was a Merchants Sonne in *London*, and growing mighty on the sudden, hee could not governe himselfe in the change: but prosperity layed open the secret faults of his mind, which were suppressed and cloaked before: and serving a weake Ruler in great place, with an ill mind, hee made open sale of his Princes honour. Yet the King was willing, either secretly to dissemble, or openly to remit these offences: and so passed them over with a short audience (as his manner was in matters of greatest weight) and without examination, shewing himselfe neither grieved at the faults, nor well pleased with the complaint. Afterwards a Subsidy was required: but answer was made that this needed not, since the Kings wants might bee furnished with the debts which were owing him from his Chancelour: neither was it to any purpose, so long as the money

ney ſhould bee ordered by ſuch perſons as before it had beene, and that that time was like. Then were the matters againſt the Lord Chancellour againe ſet on foote, and the King perſwaded that it was neither honorable nor ſafe to beare him out; that to private men it was ſufficient if themſelves abſtaine from wrong, but a Prince muſt provide that none doe wrong under him: for by maintaining, or wincking at the vices of his Officers, hee maketh them his owne, and ſhall ſurely bee charged therewith when firſt occaſion doth ſerve againſt him. At the laſt, upon inſtant importunity of both Houſes, the King did conſent, that a commiſſion ſhould goe forth to certaine Noble-men, giving them authority to heare and determine all matters which were objected againſt the Lord Chancellour: and then was a Subſidie granted, with exception, that the money ſhould bee expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the Realme. The King did

further demand, that the Heires of *Charles Bloyes*, who made claime to the Dutchy of *Britaine*, ſhould bee ſold to the *French-men* for thirty thouſand markes, and the money granted to the Duke of *Ireland*, for recovery of thoſe poſſeſſions which the King had given him in *Ireland*: this was likewiſe aſſented unto, upon condition, that before Eaſter the next enſuing, the Duke ſhould depart into *Ireland*, and there remaine: at ſo high a price did they value the riddance of him out of the Realme.

The charge of the Subſidie money, was committed to *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*. Commiſſioners for the Earle of *Suffolke* were appointed, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter* the Kings Vncle, and the ſaid Earle of *Arundell*: but during the time of their proceeding, the King kept all off, in places farre diſtant: either to manifeſt thereby the diſcent of his mind, or to avoid the griefe which his neerneſſe would encreaſe. And now was the Chancellour left unto himſelfe,

ſelfe, to anſwere to thoſe demeanours, wherein hee made the Kings blind favour his priviledge and protection, ſuppoſing never to ſee the ſame either altered or over-ruled. In the end, being convict of many crimes and abuſes, hee was depoſed from his office, his goods were confiſcated to the Kings Exchequer, and himſelfe was adjudged worthy of death: Yet was execution ſubmitted to the Kings pleaſure, and under ſureties hee was permitted to goe at large. At the ſame time, *John Foorde* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, another of the Kings dainties, was removed alſo from being Lord Treaſurer of *England*, hee was a man of little depth, either in learning or wiſedome, but one that had the Art of ſeeming, in making the beſt ſhew of whatſoever hee ſpake or did: and riſing from meane eſtate to ſo high a pitch of honour, hee exerciſed the more exceſſively his riot, avarice, and ambition, not able to moderate the luſts and deſires which former want had kindled. When

When this buſineſſe was blowne over, the King returned againe to *London*, and did preſently receive the Earle of *Suffolke*, with the Duke of *Ireland*, and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, to greater grace and familiarity then at any time before. Theſe *Triumvirs* did not ceaſe to ſtirre up the Kings ſtomack againſt thoſe Noblemen, whoſe ſpeciall excellency had made matter of fame and regard: partly for the diſgraces which they had received, partly upon malicious emulation, to ſee the other ſo favoured, and themſelves ſo odious, and that their private choller and ambition might beare ſome ſhew of publike reſpect, they ſuggeſted unto the King, that hee was but halfe, yea not halfe a King in his owne Realme, but rather the ſhadow and picture of a King: for if wee reſpect (ſaid they) matters of ſtate, you beare the ſword, but they ſway it, you have the ſhew, but they the authority of a Prince, uſing your name as a colour and countenance to their pro-

proceeding, and your perſon as a cipher, to make them great, and bee your ſelfe nothing. Looke to the duty of your Subjects, and it is at their devotion: ſo that you can neither command nor demand any thing, but with ſuch exceptions and limitations as they pleaſe to impoſe: come now to your private actions, your liberality (the greateſt vertue in a Prince) is reſtrained, your expences meaſured, and your affections confined, to frowne and favour as they doe preſcribe. What Ward is ſo much under government of his Gardian? Wherein will they next, or can they more abridge you? Except they ſhould take from you the place, as they have done the power of a Prince: and in this wee thinke, they may juſtly bee feared, having ſo great might joyned with ſo great aſpiring minds. For power is never ſafe when it doth exceed: and ambition is like the Crocodile which groweth ſo long as hee liveth; or like the Ivie, which faſtning on the

foote

foote of the talleſt Tower, by ſmall, yet continuall riſing, at length will climbe above the top, it is already growne from a ſparke to a flame, from a twig to a tree, and high time it is, that the increaſe were ſtayed: oftentimes ſuch over-ruling of Princes have proceeded to their overthrowing, and ſuch cutting them ſhort hath turned to cutting them off, their minds are ſuſpicious, their power dangerous, and therefore the oportunity muſt bee prevented.

The Kings owne weakeneſſe made him apprehenſive, and framed his mind to a vaine and needleſſe feare: but chiefly hee was moved at the removing of his Chancellour and Treaſurer out of their offices, and of the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realme, ſuppoſing it a reſtraint to his Princely power, that hee might not abſolutely and in things give or forgive as his pleaſure ſerved. When theſe privy incenſers perceived the Kings humour once

ſharp-

ſharpned, they ſo plied him with plauſible perſwaſions, that (although hee was naturally of no cruell diſpoſition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courſes, partly upon negligence to ſearch out the truth, partly upon delight to bee flattered and ſmoothly uſed, neither did they long deferre their deviſes: and firſt it was appointed, that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and certaine others of that part, ſhould bee invited to a ſupper within *London*, and there ſuddainly ſurpriſed and made away. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, who the yeare before had beene Major of *London*, and in whom aboundance of wealth ſupplied the want of honeſt qualities, was a buſie agent in this butcherly buſineſſe: but *Richard Extone* the Major of the City, that yeare, diſcovered the practiſe by whom the Duke was warned both to avoid the preſent perill, and afterwards to bee wary of the like.

The yeare next following, *Richard*

Earle

Earle of *Arundel*, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, had the conduct of a Navy committed to their charge: in this voyage they tooke above a hundred ſaile of the enemies ſhips, fraughted with wines, and well appointed for fight: they alſo relieved and fortified *Breſt*, and tooke two forces which the *French-men* had raiſed againſt it. The Earles ſo behaved themſelves in this ſervice, that they grew to a very great eſtimation, both for courteſie among their Souldiers, and for courage againſt their enemies: and their actions were the more famous, by reaſon of the infortunate ſufficiency of other Commanders, by whoſe either raſhneſſe or cowardiſe, many good Souldiers were dayly defeated, and every yeare made notorious, by one loſſe or other. Yet notwithſtanding all their good labour and luck, they were at their returne, entertained by the King, with great ſtrangenes, both of countenance and ſpeech.

Who

Who was ſo unable to diſſemble his diſpight, that hee could hardly deferre it, untill the heat of the honour and love which they had wonne, were ſomewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to revenge diſpleaſure, then reward deſert: for it is troubleſome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but revenge is pleaſant, and preferred before gaine.

About the ſame time, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland* forſooke the company of his lawfull wife, whoſe Mother Lady *Iſabel*, was Daughter to King *Edward* the third, and inſteed of her, hee tooke unto him a baſe *Bohemian*, a Taverners Daughter. The King little regarded this indignity done unto his Coſin, and in ſo great confuſion of the ſtate, let it paſſe unreproved, as overſhadowed with greater vices: but the Duke of *Glocester* her Vncle, tooke it in high diſdaine, as injurious to the Royall bloud, and did attend upon occaſion to worke revenge, this was not ſecret

cret from the Duke of *Ireland*, who likewiſe bent all his deviſes to bring the Duke of *Gloceſter* to his overthrow. The Duke of *Gloceſter* did proſecute his enmity openly and manlike: the Duke of *Ireland* cloſely, and therefore the more dangerouſly. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was greater in bloud, the Duke of *Ireland* in favour; hee being Vncle to the King, this bearing himſelfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of *Gloceſter* pretended for the State, the Duke of *Ireland* for the King: and much private malice did paſſe under theſe publike ſhewes: but in oppoſition of ſuch equall powers, there is many times ſmall diff:rence in harme.

And now was Eaſter paſt, the Tearme aſſigned to Duke *Robert Vere* for his departure into *Ireland*: and leaſt his ſtay might breed ſome ſtirre within the Realme, hee ſtill buſied himſelfe in preparation for his journey, and at laſt (although it were long) made a ſolemne ſhew of ſetting forth. The King went in great

great ſtate to accompany him to his ſhipping; and the Earle of *Suffolke* with Iuſtice *Triſilian*, and the reſidue of that faction, either for favour followed, for or feare durſt not ſtay behind. So they paſſed together into *Wales*, and (whether upon levity the Kings mind changed; or whether it was ſo contrived at the firſt to draw themſelves more ſeparate from the Lords,) there the Dukes journey was at an end. Then they entred into Counſell which way the Lords might beſt bee ſuppreſſed: many deviſes were deeply debated, all pleaſed without reſpect either of danger or diſgrace: but few ſtood with likelihood of event to their deſires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus frivolouſly ſpent, they left *Wales*, and came to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, where the King cauſed the high Sheriffes of all the Shires in the Realme to bee called before him, and demanded of them, what ſtrength they could make on his part againſt the

the Lords, if need ſhould requir: their anſwer was, that the Common people did ſo favour the Lords, and were ſo well reſolved of their love and loyalty towards the King, that it was not in their power to raiſe any great power againſt them. Then they were commanded that no Knights nor Burgeſſes ſhould afterwards bee choſen to any Parliament, but thoſe whom it pleaſed the King to appoint: whereto they ſaid that it was a hard matter in thoſe times of *jealouſie* and ſuſpition, to bereave the people of their ancient liberty, in choſing Knights and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, ſome few other matters being either unreaſonably required, or obtained to ſmall end, the Sheriffes were licenſed to depart. Then were aſſembled *Robert Triſilian*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Belknape*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, *John Holte*, *Roger Stilthrope*, *William Burgh*, Knights and Iuſtices alſo of the Common Pleas, men learned in

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one rule chiefly, without difference of truth or falſehood, to pleaſe thoſe in higheſt places, intituling that wiſedome, which indeed was but baſeneſſe and feeblenеſſe of mind: theſe were charged by the King upon their faith and legeance, to make true and full anſwers to thoſe queſtions following.

1 *Firſt, Whether the Statute, Ordinances, and Commiſſion, made and ſet forth the laſt Parliament, (whereby was meant the commiſſion againſt* Michael De-la-poole *Duke of* Suffolke) *did derogate from the Royall prerogative of the King.*

2 *Item, They who procured the ſaid Statute &c. to bee made and ſet forth, how are they to bee puniſhed?*

3 *Item, How are they to bee puniſhed, who provoked the King to conſent to the premiſes?*

4 *Item, What puniſhment have they deſerved who compelled the King to conſent to the ſaid ſtatute, &c.*

5 *Item, How are they to be puniſhed, who*

who reſiſted or letted the King in exerciſing his Royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatſoever?

6 Item, When a Parliament is aſſembled, and the affaires of the Realme, and the cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, upon which, the Lords and Commons in the ſaid Parliament ſhould proceed: if the Lords and Commons will proceed upon other Articles, and not upon the Articles limited by the King, untill the King hath firſt given anſwere to the Articles propounded by them, notwithſtanding that the contrary were enjoyned by the King, whether in this caſe the King ought to have the rule of the Parliament, and ſo to order the fact, that the Lords and Commons ſhould firſt proceed upon the Articles limited by the King, or that they ſhould firſt have anſwer of the King, upon the Articles propounded by them, before they proceed any further?

7 Item,

7 *Item, Whether may the King when hee pleaſe diſſolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart or no?*

8 *Item, Since the King may at his pleaſure remove any of his Officers and Juſtices, and puniſh them for their offences: whether may the Lords and Commons without the Kings will, accuſe his Officers and Juſtices in Parliament for their offences, yea, or no?*

9 *Item, What puniſhment have they deſerved, who moved in Parliament, that the ſtatute whereby King* Edward Carnarvan *was depoſed ſhou'd bee brought forth, by view whereof, the new ſtatute ordinance and commiſſion aforeſaid were framed?*

10 *Item, Whether the judgement given in the laſt Parliament holden at* Weſtminſter, *againſt* Michael De-la-poole *Duke of* Suffolke, *was erronious and revocable, yea, or no?*

Theſe queſtions, or rather quarrels were drawne by *Iohn Blake* a Coun-

Councellour at the Law, by direction of Iuſtice *Triſilian*, whileſt the King made his ſtay in *Wales*: to the which the Iuſtices afore-named, ſome in diſcharge of their owne malice, and ſome to ſatisfie the minds of other, made anſwer as followeth.

To the firſt, that they did derogate from the Prerogative of the King, becauſe they were againſt his will.

To the ſecond and third: that they are to bee puniſhed by death, except it pleaſeth the King to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth: that they are worthy to bee puniſhed as Traytours.

To the ſixth: that whoſoever reſiſteth the Kings rule in that point, deſerveth to bee puniſhed as a Traytour.

To the ſeventh, that the King may at his pleaſure diſſolve the Parliament, and whoſoever ſhall afterwards proceed againſt the Kings mind,

mind, as in a Parliament, hee is worthy to bee punished as a Traytour.

To the eighth, that they cannot, and whosoever doth the contrary hee deserveth to be punished as a Traytour.

To the ninth, that as well the Motioner as also the Bringer of the said statute to the Parliament, are worthy to be punished as Traytours.

To the tenth, they answered: that the said judgement seemed to them erronious and revocable in every part. *In witnesse whereof, the Justices aforesaid, with* John Lockstone, *the Kings sergeant at Law, have subscribed and set their seals to these presents, &c.*

When these bloudy sentences of death & treason, were under generall and large Tearmes thus fastened upon the Lords, the King supposed his attempts against them, whether by violence, or by colour of law sufficiently warranted: but his power both wayes, as it was terrible against weak resistance, so against such mighty defendants it was of small force to effect that which he so much affected. Yet he

did not omit his first indeavour: and first accounting the Lords as condemned persons, hee made division of their Lands and goods among those that hee favoured. Then hee waged Souldiers to bee in a readinesse for his assistance, and sent the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundel*, at his Castle in *Reygate*, where hee then lay. But the Earle of *Arundel*, either upon advertisement, or suspition of the Kings mind, banded himselfe so strong, that when the Earle of *Northumberland* came unto him, hee dissembled his intent, and left his purpose unperformed. Thus were these proceedings of the King, as now in Councell, so afterwards in event, not much unlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who first sold the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her: but when hee came within the forrest, either by unskilfulnesse or misadventure, hee not onely missed his pray, but fell himselfe into danger of the beast. The

The Duke of *Glocester* having ſecret intelligence of the Kings diſpleaſure, and of his drift, ſent the Biſhop of *London* to perſwade the King to entertaine a more favourable opinion of him: making faith to the Biſhop, with a ſolemne oath, that hee never intended any thing to the prejudice of the King, either in perſon or ſtate. The Biſhop not unskilfull to joyne profitable perſwaſion, with honeſt, declared to the King, that his diſpleaſure againſt the Lords was not grounded upon juſt deſert, but either upon falſe ſuggeſtions of their enemies, or erroni us miſtaking of ſome of their actions: how deſirous they were of his grace and favour: how faithfull and forward they promiſed to perſiſt in all dutifull ſervice: how honourable this agreement would bee to the King: how profitable to the Realme: and how dangerous to both, if theſe troubles might encreaſe. The King ſeemed to give good eare and credit to the Biſhops ſpeech:

but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and againſt quiet counſell obſtinately contentious, ſtanding then by the King, ſoone ſtiffened his mind againſt all impreſſion of friendſhip. Hereupon contention did ariſe betweene the Biſhop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applied to the Lords thoſe objections wherewith great men are uſually charged: ſparing no ſpight of ſpeech, and uſing all art to aggravate matters againſt them. The Biſhop replied, that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not upon his owne neceſſity, nor love to the King; but onely to ſatisfie his bloudy and ambitious humour, wherein hee was ſo immoderate that rather then the Lords ſhould not bee deſtroyed, hee would overwhelme them with the ruines of the State, for tumults might indeed bee raiſed by men of little courage, but muſt bee maintained with the hazard, and ended with the loſſe of the moſt valiant; that neither his

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Counſell in this matter was to bee followed, being the principall firebrand of the diſturbance, nor his complants againſt any man to bee any thing regarded, being himſelfe a condemned perſon, and one that held both his life and honour at the pleaſure of the King. At theſe words the King was exceedingly wroth, and charged the Biſhop with menacing and threats to avoid his preſence. When the Duke of *Glouceſter* had knowledge hereof, hee ſignified the danger to the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*, adviſing them to take armes, and unite themſelves for their common defence: for in ſo doubtfull and ſuſpected peace, open warre was the onely way of ſafety. Theſe three Earles were the chiefeſt ſtrength to the ſide, but the Duke bare the moſt ſtroke, becauſe hee was moſt bold, and his greatneſſe almoſt obſcured the names of the reſt. On the other ſide, the King thinking ſeparate dealing the onely way to weaken a

confederacy, endeavoured to prevent the Lords in joyning of their forces: and to that end hee ſent a ſtrength of men with charge, either to ſet upon the Earle of *Arundel* where hee did lie: or to intercept him in his paſſage towards the Duke. But the Earle had travelled all the night before their comming, and ſo happily eſcaped to *Haringey* parke, where hee found the Duke, and the other Earles, with a ſufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to ſtand upon reſiſtance.

When the King heard hereof, hee was diſturbed and diſtracted in mind, being now in choiſe either to relent, or to reſiſt, whereof hee much diſdained the one, and diſtruſted the other. His followers alſo was divided in Counſell: ſome fretting at the diſgrace, and ſome fainting at the danger. The Archbiſhop of *Yorke* perſwaded the King, that occaſion was now offered to ſhew himſelfe a King indeed, if hee would muſter a Royall army, and by maine might beate

beate downe the boldneſſe of this preſumption. *Nihil dictu facilius*, ſaid another: *This is more readily deviſed then done:* the army againſt us is mighty, and the Commanders are great men, both for courage and ſkill, and greatly favoured of the Common people: whereby that which is accompted ſo ready pay, may chance to prove a deſperate debt. Therefore it were better with ſome yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, then by ſtanding upon high points of honour to hazard the iſſue of a battaile, wherein the King cannot winne without his weakning, nor looſe without danger of his undoing. There was then in preſence, a certaine old Knight, called Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good ſouldier, but a very mad-cap, and one that lived chiefely upon the liberality of Noblemen; by vaine jeſtes, affecting the grace of a pleaſant conceit: of him the King demanded in mirth, what hee thought beſt to bee done? Sir *Hugh* ſwore, ſwownes and

ſnailes, let us ſet upon them, and kill every man and mothers child; and ſo wee ſhall make riddance of the beſt friends you have in the Realme, this giddy anſwer more weighed with the King then if it had beene ſpoken in grave and ſober ſort: and thus it often happeneth, that wiſedome is the more ſweetly ſwallowed when it is tempered with folly, and earneſt is the leſſe offenſive, if it bee delivered in jeſt. In the end, the deviſe of raiſing armes was laid aſide, not as diſpleaſing (being ſo agreeable to former proceedings, but as deſpairing to prevaile thereby; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Biſhop of *Ely* being Lord Chancellour, were ſent unto the Lords, to underſtand the cauſe of their aſſembly: anſwer was made, that it was for the ſafety of themſelves; the honour of the King, and the overthrow of them which ſought the overthrow of both. At the laſt it was concluded by mediation of the Biſhops, that

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the Lords ſhould come before the King at *Weſtminſter*, upon promiſe of his protection, and there have audience concerning their griefes: the Biſhop of *Ely* alſo making private ſaith, that hee would diſcover any danger that hee could diſcrie, a little before the time they ſhould come, the Biſhop of *Ely* ſent word of an await that was purpoſed to bee laid for them, at a place called the Mewes, neere *London*; adviſing them either to make ſtay, or to come prepared: but rather to make ſtay, leaſt further provocation might make reconcilement more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King marvailing at their failance, enquired the cauſe of the Biſhop of *Ely*: who anſwered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, and that they neither did, nor durſt repoſe aſſurance to the Kings word, which they ſaw to bee uſed as a meanes to entrap them, the King made the matter very ſtrange unto him, affirming with an oath

that hee was free from deceit, both in consent and knowledge: and in a great rage, hee commanded the Sheriffes of *London* to goe to the place, and slay all those whom they found there in wait. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether hee was not privy to the practice, it is not assuredly knowne, and indeed, the matter was not false, but the place mistaken: for Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had assembled many armed men at *Westminster*, with direction to assault the Lords at their best advantage: but perceiving their deceit to bee discovered, they dissolved the company, and sent them secretly away to *London*.

Then the Lords, upon new faith for their security, came to the King at *Westminster*, and yet in faith they brought security with them, such troupes of men, as in a place where they were so intirely favoured, was able to defend them, in any suddaine tumult or danger: the King upon their

their comming entred into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, apparelled in his Royall robes: and when hee was placed in his ſeat, and had compoſed himſelfe to Majeſty and State, the Biſhop of *Ely*, Lord Chancellour, made a long Oration to the Lords in the Kings name. Wherein hee declared the heinouſneſſe of their offence, the greatneſſe of their perill, how eaſie a matter it had beene for the King to have levied a power ſufficient to deſtroy them; and yet for the generall ſpare of his Subjects bloud, and in particular favour to the Duke and other Lords, hee made choyce to encounter and overcome them, rather by friendſhip then by force: and therefore was willing, not onely to pardon their riot, but alſo to heare their grieſes, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redreſſe them. The Lords alleadged for cauſes of their taking armes, firſt the neceſſity of their owne defence: ſecondly the love both of the King and of the Realme, whoſe fame and fortune did

did dayly decline, by meanes of certaine Traytours, who lived onely by the dishonours of the one, and decayes of the other, those whom they challenged for Traytours, were *Robert Veere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Michael De-la-poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Trisilian* Lord chiefe Iustice; Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and certaine others, somewhat secreter, but nothing better: and to justifie this appeale, they threw downe their gloves, and offered themselves to the triall by combat. The King replied, that oftentimes the causes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation, and judgement, the events prove pernitious: and therefore, though these complaints were true, yet were these courses not tollerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiousnesse of the multitude, might soone have sorted to such an end: for it is more easie to raise the people, then to rule them: whose fury once stirred, will

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commonly bee diſcharged ſome wayes. But (ſaid hee) ſince wee have broken this broile, wee will not by combating give occaſion of a new: but at the next Parliament (which hee appointed ſhould beginne the third day of *February* then next enſuing) as well you, as they, ſhall bee preſent, and juſtice indifferently done unto all. In the meane time, hee tooke all parties into his protection, that none ſhould endanger or endammage another: deſiring the Lords to beare in mind, that as Princes muſt not rule without limitation, ſo Subjects muſt uſe a meane in their liberty. Then hee cauſed the Duke and the Earles, which all this time kneeled before him, to ariſe, and went with them into his private Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunke familiarly together, and afterwards, with a moſt friendly farewell hee licenſed them to depart. They of the contrary faction were not preſent at this meeting, and if they had, it

Croſtino Purificationis.

it was thought, that the preſence of the King ſhould little have protected them.

This act of the King was divers wayes taken: ſome judged him fearefull; others moderate, rather in ſparing the bloud of his Subjects. The Lords were very joyfull of his good will and favour, which as by baſe or bad meanes they would not ſeeke, ſo being well gotten, they did highly eſteeme. Yet they thought it the ſafeſt courſe, not to ſeparate themſelves, ſuſpecting the mutability of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whom they knew neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtfull practices, they were feared not without a cauſe: for the Duke of *Ireland*, either by ſetting on, or ſufferance of the King, was all this time muſtering of Souldiers out of *Cheſhire* and *Wales*, where hee gathered an army both for number, and goodneſſe of men ſuffi-

ſufficient, if another had beene generall, to have maintained the ſide.

When the Lords were advertiſed hereof, they devided themſelves, and beſet all the wayes by which the Duke ſhould paſſe to *London*; determining to encounter him, before hee did increaſe his power, and countenance his actions with the puiſſance or name of the King. At the laſt hee was met by the Earle of *Derby*, at a place called *Babbelake* neere to *Burford*: and there the Earle put his men in array, reſolving with great boldneſſe to hazard the battaile, his Souldiers alſo were full of courage and heart, diſliking nothing more then delay, as a looſing of time, and a hinderance to the victory: but the Duke, being a man not fit for action, yet mutinous, and more apt to ſtirre ſtrife, then able to ſtint it: upon newes of an enemy would preſently have fled. There was then in the army a principall Commander, one Sir *Thomas Malveux*, Conſtable of *Cheſhire*, a man

man of great wealth, and of good proofe in ſervice, upon whoſe leading all that Countrey did depend: hee perſwaded the Duke, that this was but a part of the forces that were againſt them, and led onely by the Earle of *Derby*, a man of no ſpeciall name (at that time) among the Lords, and if they could not beare through that reſiſtance, it was but in vaine to attempt any great atchevement by armes. Hereupon the Duke ſtayed his ſteps, but his faint ſpirits were moved by this ſpeech, rather to deſire victory then to hope it: his ſouldiers alſo were dull, ſilent, and ſad, and ſuch as were readier to interpret, then to execute the Captaines commandement. So they joyned battell, but ſcarce tenne ounces of bloud was loſt on both ſides, before the Duke of *Ireland* ſet ſpurres to his horſe, and forſooke the field. His ſouldiers ſeeing this, threw away their unfortunate weapons, more for indignation then for feare, ruffling their ranks, and yeelding to the Earle

the

the honour of the field. Sir *Thomas Molineux* in flying away, was forced to take a River which was neere, and as hee was comming foorth againe, a certaine Knight, whose name was Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, pulled off his helmet, and stabbed him into the braines with his dagger. The rest submitted themselves to the discretion of the Victorers, making them Lords over their life, and death: but their yeelding was no sooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle presently commanding that none should bee harmed, but those that did make resistance, or beare armour: The souldiers also being willing to shew favour towards their Countrey-men, as led into this action, partly upon simplicity, partly to accompany these which came upon feare. Then the Gentlemen were still retained in the Earles company, the common Souldiours were dispoiled of their armour onely, and so returned againe to their peaceable businesse at home.

And

And this was the first act whereby reputation did rise to the side, and the greatnesse beganne, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of *Ireland* at the beginning of his flight, was desirous to have passed the River which ranne by: and comming to a bridge, hee found the same broken: from thence hee posted to another bridge, which hee found guarded with Archers. At the last, his fearefulnesse being feared away (as nothing maketh men more desperate upon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) hee adventured to take the streame, in the midst whereof hee forsooke his horse and swam to the other side, and so by benefit of the night escaped, and flied into *Scotland*: and shortly after passed the Seas into *Flanders*, and from thence travelled into *France*: where the continuall gall of his griefe soone brought his loathed life to an end. His horse was taken with his brest-

plate,

plate, his helmet and his gauntlets, whereupon it was generally ſuppoſed that hee was drowned; and (as in great uncertainties it often happeneth) ſome affirmed that they ſaw his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to ſearch, did eaſily beleeve: whether this were thus contrived of purpoſe, or fell ſo out by chance, it was a great meanes of his eſcape, by ſtaying the purſute after him, which otherwiſe had beene made. His coach alſo was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein hee deſired the Duke to come to *London* with all the ſpeed and power hee could make, and hee would bee ready to dy in his defence; ſo unskilfull was hee in matter of government, that to pleaſure a few, hee regarded not the diſcontentment of all the reſt.

The Earle of *Suffolke*, upon this accident, ſhaved his beard, and in baſe and diſguiſed attire fled to *Calis*, and either for feare, or for ſhame, never after returned into *England*: he was a cruell

And this was the firſt act whereby reputation did riſe to the ſide, and the greatneſſe beganne, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of *Ireland* at the beginning of his flight, was deſirous to have paſſed the River which ranne by: and comming to a bridge, hee found the ſame broken: from thence hee poſted to another bridge, which hee found guarded with Archers. At the laſt, his fearefulneſſe being feared away (as nothing maketh men more deſperate upon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) hee adventured to take the ſtreame, in the midſt whereof hee forſooke his horſe and ſwam to the other ſide, and ſo by benefit of the night eſcaped, and flied into *Scotland*: and ſhortly after paſſed the Seas into *Flanders*, and from thence travelled into *France*: where the continuall gall of his griefe ſoone brought his loathed life to an end. His horſe was taken with his breſt-

plate,

plate, his helmet and his gauntlets, whereupon it was generally ſuppoſed that hee was drowned; and (as in great uncertainties it often happeneth) ſome affirmed that they ſaw his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to ſearch, did eaſily beleeve: whether this were thus contrived of purpoſe, or fell ſo out by chance, it was a great meanes of his eſcape, by ſtaying the purſute after him, which otherwiſe had beene made. His coach alſo was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein hee deſired the Duke to come to *London* with all the ſpeed and power hee could make, and hee would bee ready to dy in his defence; ſo unskilfull was hee in matter of government, that to pleaſure a few, hee regarded not the diſcontentment of all the reſt.

The Earle of *Suffolke*, upon this accident, ſhaved his beard, and in baſe and diſguiſed artire fled to *Calis*, and either for feare, or for ſhame, never after returned into *England*: he was a cruell

cruell ſpoiler, and a careleſſe ſpender, in Warre contemptible; in peace inſupportable, an enemy to all Counſaile of others, and in his owne conceit obſtinately contentious; of a good wit, and ready ſpeech both which hee abuſed, to the cunning commending of himſelfe, and crafty depraving of others: hee was leſſe loved but better heard of the King, then the Duke of *Ireland*: the more hurtfull man and the more hatefull: the Duke being charged with no great fault: but onely the Kings exceſſive favour, in their courſe of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike. Alſo the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Iuſtice *Triſilian*, and others of that faction, ranne every man, like connies to their covert; Yea, the King betooke himſelfe to the Tower of *London*, and there made proviſion for his Winter aboad; having all his courſes now croſſed, firſt raſhnes in taking armes, and afterwards by cowardiſe in maintaining them.

The

The Earle of *Darby* ſignified this ſucceſſe to his aſſociates by letters, yet without any vanting or enlarging Tearmes: his ſpeeches alſo were moderate, rather extenuating his fact then extolling it, but by ſtopping his fame, it much encreaſed when men eſteemed his high thoughts by his lowly words, and his conceit in great exploits, by his contempt of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards *London*, whither they came upon Saint *Stephens* day, having almoſt forty thouſand men in their army, and firſt they ſhewed themſelves in battaile array, in the fields neare unto the Tower, within the view of the King: afterwards, they tooke up their lodgings in the Suburbs, the Major and Aldermen of the City came forth, and gave liberall allowance of victuall to the ſouldiers, offering unto the Lords entertainement within the City, but they did not accept it.

Now this diſcord ſeemed to draw

to

to a dangerous diſtraction of the Common-wealth; the vanquiſhed part being full of malice, and the Conquerours of preſumption: the one wanting power, the other right to command and rule. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and certaine others of the neutrality, fearing the ſequele, perſwaded the King to come to a treaty with the Lords: but hee made ſhew of very light regard of all theſe dealings; let them ſtay (ſaid hee) untill they have wearied themſelves with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the Lords underſtood the drift of his deviſe, they beſet the *Thames*, and all other paſſages, and proteſted, that they would not depart untill they had talked with him to his face. The King having neither ſtrength to reſiſt; nor ſcope to ſcape, conſented to a treaty, and to that end deſired the Lords to come to him into the Tower: but they refuſed that place of meeting, upon feare of falſe meaſure,

ſure, untill the King permitted them to ſearch as diligently, and come as ſtrongly, as they thought it meet. So they came unto the King well guarded, and after a few could kindneſſes, and ſtrange ſalutations, they laid before him, his proceedings againſt them at *Nottingam*; his letters which he ſent to the Duke of *Ireland* contrary to his word, for the raiſing of armes againſt them: his agreement with the *French* King, for the yeelding up of *Calis* and other ſtrong holds which he poſſeſſed in thoſe parts: with divers other points of diſhonourable dealing and negligent government. What ſhould the King then have ſaid or done? all theſe matters were ſo evident, and ſo evill, that there was no place left either for deniall or defence. Therefore ingenuouſly, firſt with ſilence and patience, afterwards with teares hee confeſſed his errours. And certainely, the ſtiffe ſtomack of the Lords relented more to theſe luke warme drops then they

they would have done to his Cannon ſhot.

Then it was agreed, that the next day the King ſhould meet with them at *Weſtminſter*, and there treat further, both of theſe, and other neceſſary affaires of the Realme. So the Duke, and the reſt of the Lords departed, except the Earle of *Darby*, who ſtayed ſupper with the King, and all that time ſtayed him in his promiſed purpoſe: but when hee was alſo gone, ſome of the ſecret Counſailours, or Corrupters rather, and Abuſers of the King, whiſtled him in the eare, that his going to *Weſtminſter* was neither ſeemely nor ſafe, and would cauſe not onely to his perſon preſent danger and contempt, but alſo both abaſement and abridgement to his authority afterwards. The Kings mind was ſoone changed; but the Lords being now ſtirred, and feeling the Kings hand weake to governe the bridle, became the more vehement, and ſent him word, that if hee did jeofaile with them,

them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuſe another King, who ſhould have his Nobility in better regard. This peremptory meſſage ſo terrified the King, that hee not onely went to *Weſtminſter*, but ſuffered the Lords to doe there even what they would. So they cauſed him much againſt his liking, to remove out of the Court, *Alexander Nevill*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Iohn Foord*, Biſhop of *Duriſme*, Frier *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, the Kings Confeſſour: Likewiſe they removed the Lord *Seuch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnel*, Lord *Beaumount*, Sir *Albred Veere*, Sir *Baldwine Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderbury*, Sir *Iohn Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Iohn Lovell*, taking ſureties, for their appearance at the next Parliament. Alſo certaine Ladies were expelled the Court, and put under ſureties: to wit, the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *Moling*, and the Lady *Poynings*, which was the wife of Sir *Iohn Woorth*. Furthermore,

ther more, they arreſted *Simon Burly*, *William Elinghame*, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trivet*, *Iames Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Bembre* Knights, *Richard Clifford*. *John Lincolne*, and *Richard Motford*, Clearkes, *John Beauchampe* the Kings Steward, *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell, and *John Blake* Counceller at the Law: all theſe were committed to divers Priſons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming forth, untill the Parliament next following.

1388. After the feaſt of the Purification, the Parliament beganne at *London*, (and yet the King uſed many means, either to daſh or deferre the ſame) to which the Lords came, attended with the number and ſtrength of a full army, upon colour to repreſſe any riote that might happen to ariſe: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole mannage of affaires unto themſelves. This aſſembly continued untill Whitſuntide next following, with very great fear of

of ſome men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Herein was Iuſtice *Triſilian*, by counſaile of the Lords, againſt the Kings mind, condemned to bee drawne and hanged: which judgement was preſently executed upon him: the like ſentence and execution paſſed upon Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *Iohn Salisbury*, Sir *James Barueis*, *Iohn Beauchampe*, the Kings Steward, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquire, who had framed the Articles which were exhibited againſt the Lords at *Nottingham*. Alſo the Iuſtices who gave their judgement concerning thoſe Articles, *Robert Belknape*, *Iohn Holt*, *Roger Fulthrope*, and *William Burghe*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not enterpoſe themſelves, but intermeddle by conſtraint. Sir *Simon Burly* was alſo beheaded, who was Keeper of *Dover* Caſtle; and had conſpired to deliver the ſame unto the *Frenchmen*: hee was infinitely haughty and proud, equall to the meaneſt in vertue and wiſedome,

but in bravery and traine inferiour to no Duke. Divers other were either put to death, or baniſhed, and ſome (as it happened when the reine of fury is at large) without any great cauſe. The Earle of *Derby* furthered no mans death, but laboured very inſtantly for the life and liberty of many, in ſo much as hot ſpeeches did ariſe betwene the Duke of *Gloceſter* and him: whereby hee purchaſed a favourable opinion among thoſe of the contrary part, having cauſed the death of no man, but onely in the field. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to ſtand to the Government of the Lords: and alſo a note was taken of all the Subjects within the Realme, to bee true and faithfull unto the King. The King in taking this oath of the Lords, bewrayed his inward conceit by his open countenance, looking pleaſantly on thoſe hee favoured, and angerly on thoſe whom hee hated: by which untimely diſcovery, hee made them more heedefull, and himſelfe more hate-

hatefull: which were occaſions afterward, both to prevent the revenge, which hee much deſired and to procure the miſchiefes which hee little feared. Laſtly, a ſubſidie was granted: and ſo the King comming, as it were, to a capitulation with the Lords, hee to have the name of a King, and they the Authority and Majeſty, the contention for that time ceaſed.

All this was done in the 11. yeare of the Kings raigne, hee being yet under age, and in Government of others. But the yeare following, hee beganne to take upon him more liberty and rule: and upon extreame diſdaine, that both his pleaſure and his power were by the Lords thus reſtrained, hee did ever after beare a hard mind againſt them. And firſt hee aſſembled them in the Counceſl Chamber, and there demanded of what yeares they tooke him to bee: they anſwered, that hee was ſomewhat above one and twenty; then (ſaid hee) I am of lawfull age to 1389.

have the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe mee wrong to hold mee ſtill under government, as though the condition of a King were harder then of a Subject. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to deny, and therefore they either kept ſilence, or ſpake little to the purpoſe. Well (ſaid the King,) ſince I am no longer an infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take upon mee ſuch free adminiſtration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof my Predeceſſours heretofore have lawfully uſed. Then preſently hee began his Phaetons flouriſh, and commanded the Biſhop of *Ely*, being Lord Chancellour, to reſigne his Seale; which the King received, and put up, and therewith departed out of the Chamber: but ſoone after hee returned againe, and delivered the ſame to *William Wickam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, conſtituting him Lord Chancellour thereby. Many other officers hee likewiſe depoſed; and placed new in their

their roome; partly to manifeſt his authority, and partly to ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. Alſo hee removed the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earle of *Warwick*, and many others from his Privy Councell, and tooke thoſe in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but leſſe his honour.

Soone after, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Duke of *Gloceceſter* was gathering forces againſt him: but upon examination there was found not onely no truth, but no ſhew or colour of any ſuch matter. The Duke would not quietly have diſgeſted the raiſing of theſe reports; but the King, whether upon a generall delight, to bee tickled in the eares with ſuch tales, or upon particular deſire to have ſome quarrell againſt the Duke, charged him to ſilence.

In the 13. yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, the Citizens of *Genua* deſired his aid, againſt the Barbarians of *Afrike*, who with dayly 1390.

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incurſions infeſted and ſpoiled all the Sea coaſts and Ilands of *Italy*, and *France*, which fronted upon them. The King ſent a choyce company of Souldiers, under the conduct of *Henry* Earle of *Derby*; who behaved himſelfe in this charge with great integrity and courage, inciting his men, the good by praiſe, the bad by example, rather then reproofe, as more ready to commend the vertues of the one, then to upbraid the vices of the other. And firſt hee paſſed into *France*, and there joyned himſelfe to certaine *French* forces appointed likewiſe for this ſervice: then with might and minds united, they ſailed together into *Africk*. At their arrivall, the Barbarians were ready in armes to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commanded his Archers to breake through and make paſſage, deſpiſing the enemy, whom hee knew to bee weake and unskilfull in ſervice, and not to have that advantage in place, which hee had in men: the *Frenchmen* alſo

ſharp-

ſharply ſet in, and ſeconded the *Engliſh*: and ſo whileſt both companies contended, the one to bee accompted a helpe, and the other to ſeeme to need no helpe, the enemies were forced to flie, and leave the ſhoare unto the Chriſtians. In this conflict, three Dukes of the Barbarians and above three hundred Souldiers were ſlaine, and in the flight, foure Dukes were taken, and a great, yet uncertaine, number of Common people. Then the Chriſtians marched directly towards *Tunis*, the head City of that Countrey: this they beſieged, and in ſhort time tooke; chiefely by the proweſſe of the *Engliſh* ſouldiers, who firſt ſcaled the *Wales*, and reared thereon the Earles banner. When they were entred the Towne, the *Engliſhmen* bent their endeavour, to the hoaſing of their enemies, and beating downe of ſuch as made reſiſtance, but the *Frenchmen* ſtraight wayes turned to their laſcivious pleaſures: ſo that there was preſented a ſpectacle, both pitifull

and ſhameleſſe: in one place butchering of men, in another rioting with women: here ſtreames of bloud, and heapes of ſlaughtered bodies, hard by diſſolute and licentious wantonneſſes in ſome, all the miſeries of a cruell warre, and the looſeneſſe of a ſecure peace. Here were ſlaine and taken above foure thouſand Barbarians: the Kings brother alſo was ſlaine: but the King himſelfe fled into the Caſtle, which was ſtrongly ſcited, and well fortified and furniſhed with men. The Chriſtians laid ſiege to this Caſtle the ſpace of five weekes, during which time, they loſt many of their men, yet not by ſword, but by ſickneſſe: the Barbarians alſo were diſtreſſed with want of victuall, having but little proviſion, and many unprofitable mouths to conſume it: hereupon they ſent unto the Chriſtians, to deſire peace, offering them a great ſumme of money, to depart out of their Countrey: this the Chriſtians accepted, upon condition that they might alſo freely

carry

carry with them, all their pray and Priſoners; and that the Barbarians ſhould from thence forth ſurceaſe from making ſpoile, upon any of the coaſts of *Italy*, or *France*. Thus had this voyage a proſperous and ſpeedy end: the onely ſervice (as I ſuppoſe) which the *Engliſh* and *Frenchmen* performed together, without jotte of jarre. And yet the Earle abuſed not the fortune of this ſucceſſe, to vaine vanting, or braving in words, but moderately imparted to the reſt, the honour of the exploit: ſo by valiantly performing his charge, and ſparingly ſpeaking thereof, his glory encreaſed, without bit of envy.

In the fifteenth and ſixteenth yeares of the raigne of King *Richard*, certaine cauſes of diſcontentment did grow, betweene the King and the *Londoners*, which ſet the favour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great ſeparation and diſtance: One was, for that the King would have borrowed of them a thouſand pounds: 1392. 1393.

pounds: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings dayly exactions, did not onely deny, but evill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occasioned: One of the Bishop of *Salisburies* servants, named *Romane*, meeting in *Fleet-street* with a Bakers man, bearing horse-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demand of the one, and rough deniall of the other, chollar so kindled betwixt them, that *Romane* brake the Bakers head. Hereupon the Neighbours came forth, and would have arrested the Bishops lusty yeoman: but hee escaped, and fled to this Bishops house. The Constable followed peaceably, and demanded a quiet delivery of the Offendour: but the Bishops men shut the gates against him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatning to breake open the gates, and fire the house, unlesse *Romane* were

were brought forth unto them: What (ſaid they) are the Biſhops men priviledged? or is his houſe a Sanctuary? or will hee protect thoſe whom hee ought to puniſh? if wee may bee ſhuffled off in this ſort, not onely our ſtreets, but our ſtops and our houſes ſhall never bee free from violence and wrong. This wee will not endure: wee cannot: it ſtandeth not us in hand. Herewith they approached the gates, and beganne to uſe violence: but the Major and Sheriffes of the City, upon advertiſement of this tumult, came amongſt them, crying out, that it was not courage, but out-rage which they ſhewed: whereby they would procure, both danger to themſelves and diſpleaſure againſt the whole City; that although wrong had beene received, yet they were not in the men, nor this the meanes to redreſſe the ſame: So partly by their perſwaſions, partly by their preſence and authority, they repreſſed the riot, and ſent every man away, with ſtreight charge

charge to keepe the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might have beene quieted without more adoe, had not the Biſhops ſtirred therein, and kindled the coales of unkindneſſe a freſh. For the *Londoners* at that time, were not onely ſuſpected ſecretly, but openly noted to bee favourers and followers of *Wickliffes* opinions: for which cauſe, they were much maliced of the Biſhops; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceed from another mind, and tend to a worſe end, then was outwardly borne in countenance and ſhew: and ſome matters of chance, were taken as done of purpoſe. Therefore the Biſhop of *Salisbury* called *John Waltham*, who was alſo Treaſourer of *England*, made a grievous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and Lord Chancellour; affirming, that if upon every light pretence, the Citizens might bee ſuffered in this ſort to inſult upon the Biſhops, without puniſhment,

niſhment, without reproofe and blame, they would bring into a hazard, not onely the dignity and ſtate, but the liberty alſo of the whole Church: did they not lately take upon them the puniſhment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to Eccleſiaſticall jurisdiction? maliciouſly alleaging, that the Biſhops and their Officers, either being infamous for thoſe vices themſelves, did winck at the ſame in others: or elſe by covetous commutation, did rather ſet them to ſale, then carefully repreſſe them. Did they not rudely and unreverently breake open the doores upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and interrupt his proceedings againſt *John Aſtone*, an open follower of *Wickliffe*? and doe wee thinke that this is the laſt indignity that they will offer? no ſurely, nor yet the leaſt: and if this boldneſſe bee not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and ſcorne, and bee made a common foote ball, for every baſe Citizen to

ſpurne

ſpurne at. Hereupon they went together to the King, and ſo inceníed his diſpleaſure againſt the *Londoners*, (being prepared thereto by former provocations) that hee was in the mind to make ſpoile of the City, and utterly to deſtroy it. But being perſwaded to ſome more moderation: in revenge, firſt hee cauſed the Major and Sheriffes, and many of the chiefe Citizens to bee apprehended, and committed to divers ſeverall Priſons: then hee ceazed all the liberties of the City into his hands, and ordained, that no Major ſhould any more bee elected, but that the King ſhould at his pleaſure appoint a Warden and Governour over the City. This office was firſt committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*: who for his gentleneſſe towards the Citizens, was ſhortly after removed, and Sir *Bauldwine Radington* placed in his roome. Alſo the King was induced, or rather ſeduced by the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* Lord Chancellour, to remove the Tearmes and Courts:

Courts: to wit, the Chancery, the Exchequer, the Kings bench, the hamper, and the Common pleas, from *London*, to bee kept at *Yorke*, where the ſame continued from Mid-ſommer in the yeare 1333. untill *Chriſtmaſſe* next following, to the great hinderance and decay of the City of *London*. At the laſt, the King upon earneſt intreaty of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, called the *Londoners* before him at *Windſore*: where having firſt terrified them with the preſence and ſhew of a great number of armed men) hee cauſed all the priviledges of the City, both old and new, to bee brought forth, whereof hee reſtored ſome, and reſtrained the reſt: yet the *Londoners* were not fully reſtored to favour; neither recovered they at that time, either the perſon or dignity of their Major. Shortly after, the King went to *London*: at whoſe comming the Citizens changed all their griefe into gladneſſe (as the common ſort is

is without measure in both) entertaining him with such joyfull triumphes and rich presents, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They supposed with these great curtesies and costs to have satisfied his displeasure; but they found themselves farre deceived: for they were not fully restored to their liberties againe, untill they had made fine to pay unto the King tenne thousand pounds. Thus did the *Londoners* manifest in themselves, a strange diversity of disposition, both licentiously to commit offence, and patiently to endure punishment; having rashnesse and rage so tempered with obedience, that they were easily punished, who could not possibly be ruled. Yet for this cause, so soone as first occasion did serve against the King; they shewed themselves, either his earnest enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, passed the Seas to *Calis*: the *French* King also came downe

downe to *Ard:* betweene which two Townes, a place was appointed, and tents erected for both the Kings to meet. After large expences on both ſides, and great honour done by the one King to the other: a ſurceaſe of armes was concluded betweene them for thirty yeares: and King *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *Iſabel*, the *French* Kings Daughter, being not above ſeven or eight yeares old. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was ſo offended; both with this friendſhip, and affinity, that hee loſt all manner of patience: exclaiming, that it was more meet to bee in armes, then in amity with the *Frenchmen*, who being inferiour to the *Engliſh* in courage, did alwayes over-reach them in craft, and being too weake for Warre, did many times prevaile by peace: that now they had got into their hands, many Townes and Holds, appertaining to the Crowne of *England*, they were willing to conclude a peace, to exclude the King thereby from his poſſeſſions:

but

but whenſoever occaſion ſhould change for their advantage, they would bee then as ready to ſtart from the friendſhip, as at that preſent they were to ſtrike it: that the *French* Kings Daughter, being but a child, was very unmeet for the marriage of King *Richard*, as well for diſparity of age, as for that the King had no iſſue by his firſt wife, and was not like to have any by this, except (perhaps) in his old and whithered yeares. When the Duke ſaw, that with theſe motives hee did nothing prevaile, hee ſubordned the *Londoners*. to make petition to the King, that ſeeing there was peace with *France*, hee would releaſe them of the Subſidy which they had granted to him in regard of thoſe warres. This ſuite was inſtantly followed, and much perplexed the King, untill the Duke of *Lancaſter* declared to the people, that the King had beene at the charge and diſpence of three hundred thouſand pounds in his voyage into *France*, for the procuring

curing of this peace: whereupon they were pacified, and desisted from their demand.

The yeare following, *Guido* Earle of Saint *Pauls*, was sent into *England* by *Charles* King of *France*, to visite and salute in his name, King *Richard*, and Queene *Isabel* his wife, the *French* Kings Daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what fervency the Duke of *Gloucester* contended to make disturbance of the peace betweene *England* and *France*, how, because his mind was not therein followed, hee moved the people to seditious attempts, bending himselfe wholly to maintaine discord and disquiet, rather in his owne Countrey then not at all. Hee further reported what stiffe strifes, in former times, the Duke had stirred: which, howsoever they were done, yet as they were declared, they sounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, hee presently answered, that the Duke was to dangerous a subject 1397.

ject to bee permitted to live: that greatneſſe was never ſafe, if it grow exceſſive and bold: that the King muſt not affect the vaine commendation of clemency, with his owne perill: and that it touched him both in honour to revenge the diſgraces which hee had received, and in policy to prevent the dangers which hee had cauſe to feare. Theſe words ſo ſharpened the Kings diſpleaſure, that from thenceforth hee buſied his braines in no one thing more, then how to bring the Duke to his end. Now hee beganne to pry more narrowly into his demeanour: to watch his words: to obſerve actions: and alwayes to interpret them to the worſt, framing himſelfe to many vaine and needleſſe feares. Oftentimes hee would complaine of him to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Duke of *Yorke*, how fierce and violent hee was in his ſpeeches, and croſſe to him in all matters. The Dukes would make anſwer that the Duke of *Gloceſter* their brother, was indeed

indeed more hot and vehement then they did commend: yet his fiercenesse was ioyned with faithfulnesse, and his crosseneſſe proceeded from a care, least the Commonwealth should decrease either in honour, or in possessions: and therefore the King had neither need to feare, nor cause to dislike.

About that time, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and of *Yorke* withdrew themselves from the Court, to their private Houses, the Duke of *Glocester* also went to ly at *Plashey*, neere *Chelmsford* in *Essex*: upon advantage of which seperation, the King stood distracted in mind, betweene feare to defer, and shame to avow the destruction of the Duke, least hee might happily bee disappointed by the one, or dishonoured by the other. Hereupon hee entred into counsaile with *Iohn Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, his halfe brother: and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of *Nottingham*, how the Duke of *Glocester* might, be suppressed or oppressed rather,

rather, the cruelty which was but wavering in the King, yea wanting by nature, was ſoone confirmed by evill adviſe: and being once inclined to bloud, hee did not faile, either of examples of lewd action to follow, or direction of cruell Counſaile what to doe: ſo the plot was contrived, and according thereto, the King and the Earle of *Nottingham* rode together into *Eſſex*, as though it were to diſport themſelves in hunting: when they were in the midſt of the Forreſt, the Earle made ſtay, and the King paſſed forth with a ſmall and unſuſpitious company to the Duke lying at *Plaſhey*: there hee ſtayed dinner: and then pretending occaſion of preſent returne, hee deſired the Duke to accompany him to *London*, the faire intreaty of a Prince, is a moſt forcible command: therefore the Duke ſuppoſing that onely to bee intended indeed, which was pretended in ſhew, went to horſe-back with the King, taking ſuch ſmall attendance, as upon the ſudde

ſudden could bee in a readineſſe, and appointing the reſt to come after him to *London*. So they rode together uſing much familiar talke by the way, untill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horſe forward, and the Duke comming behind, was ſuddenly intercepted and ſtayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his journey as though hee had not heard: and the Duke was violently carried to the *Thames*, and there ſhipped in a veſſell layed for the purpoſe, and from thence conveyed over to *Calis*.

When the King came to *London*, hee cauſed the Earle of *Warwick* alſo to bee arreſted and ſent to priſon, the ſame day that hee had invited him to dinner, and ſhewed good countenance, and promiſed to bee a gracious Lord unto him. Vpon the like diſſembled ſhew, the Earle of *Arundel*, and his Sonne, and certaine others were arreſted alſo, and

committed to prison in the Ile of *Wight*.

The common people upon the apprehending of these three Noblemen, whom they chiefely, and almost onely favoured, were in a great confusion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to draw them to sedition: every man sorrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, stood waiting for one to lead them the way: all being ready to follow that, which any one was loath to beginne. The Duke of *Lancaster* and of *Yorke* gathered a strong army, and came therewith to *London*, where they were readily received by the Citizens, although the King had commanded the contrary: but this seemed to bee done, rather for guard to themselves, then regard to any others.

The King all this time, kept at a Village called *Helhame*, within foure miles of *London*, having about him a great power of armed men, which hee had gathered out of

Cheshire

Cheſhire and *Wales:* and to pacifie the common people, hee cauſed to bee proclaimed, that the Lords were not apprehended upon old diſpleaſures, but for offences lately committed, for which they ſhould bee appealed by order of Law, and receive open triall, in the Parliament next following: the like meſſage was ſent to the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Duke of *Yorke*, lying at *London:* to whom the King made faith, for the ſafety of their perſons, and indemnity of their goods, and that nothing ſhould bee attempted without their privity and advice: all this was as raſhly believed, as it was craftily given out: whereupon the Dukes diſſembled their feares, and diſſolved their forces, and remained in expectancy what would enſue.

A little before the feaſt of Saint *Michael*, the Parliament beganne at *London*, wherein Sir *John Buſhie*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, were principall agents for

the Kings purpoſe. Theſe were then in all the credites and authority with the King, and his chiefeſt Schoole-maſters both of cruelty and deceit: they were proud, arrogant, and ambitious, and upon confidence of the Kings favour, profeſſed enemies to men of ancient Nobility; to the end, that being lately ſtart up, they might become more famous by maintaining contention with great perſons. And firſt, by their importuned travaile, all the Charters of pardon, granted by the King, were in this Parliament annulled and revoked. Then the Prelates did conſtitute Sir *Henry Percie* their Procuratour, and departed the houſe, becauſe they might not bee preſent in judgement of bloud. Laſtly, the Earle of *Arundel*, and the Earle of *Warwick* were arraigned; and for the ſame offences, for which they had beene pardoned (namely for encroaching to themſelves Royall power in judging to death *Simon Burly*, *Iohn Berneis*, and others, without the Kings conſent) were

were condemned to bee hanged, drawne, and quartered: but the King ſo moderated the ſeverity of this ſentence, that the Earle of *Arundel* was onely beheaded, and the Earle of *Warwick* committed to perpetuall impriſonment in the Ile of *Man*.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*, was ſo greatly favoured, that it was thought a point both of policy and peace, not to bring him to his open anſwer, but to put him to death ſecretly: ſo hee was ſtrangled under a feather bed at *Calis* by the Earle of *Nottingham*, being then Earle Marſhall: which death, howſoever he deſerved; yet dying as hee did not called, nor heard, he died as guiltleſſe.

In this ſame Parliament, *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was alſo accuſed, for executing the commiſſion againſt *Michael De-la-poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*: for which cauſe, his temporalties were ſeazed; his lands and goods forfeited, as well in uſe as in poſſeſſion:

and hee himſelfe was adjudged to exile, and charged to depart the Realme, within ſix weekes then next enſuing. So hee went into *France*, where afterwards, hee became a principall meane of the revolt which followed. Alſo the Lord *Cobham* was exiled into the Ile of *Gernſey*: and Sir *Reinold Cobham* was condemned to death, not for entring into any attempt againſt the King, but becauſe he was appointed by the Lords to bee one of his Governours, and of his Counſaile, in the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Now the King falſely ſuppoſing, that hee was free from all dangers, and that the humour againſt him, was cleane purged and ſpent, conceived more ſecret contentment, then hee would openly bewray; as more able to diſſemble his joy, then conceale his feare: being ſo blinded and bewitched with continuall cuſtome of flatteries, that hee perceived not, that the ſtate of a Prince is never ſtabliſhed by cruelty and craft.

craft. On the other ſide, the Common people were much diſmayed, having now loſt thoſe whom they accompted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes; both for their private affaires, and for ſupporting the ſtate: and becauſe theſe miſhaps happened unto them, for maintaining a cauſe of common diſlike, the peoples ſtomack was ſtirred thereby to much hate and heart-burning againſt the King. And to make their deaths the more odious, the Earle of *Arundel* was reputed a Martyr, and Pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour alſo was current but without either authour or ground, that his head was miraculouſly faſtened againe to his body: this whileſt all men affirmed, and no man knew, the King cauſed the corps to bee taken up, and viewed, tenne dayes after it was interred: and finding the ſame to bee fabulous, hee cauſed the ground to bee paved where the Earle was laid, and all mention of his buriall to

bee taken away, forbidding publikely any ſuch ſpeeches of him afterwards to bee uſed. But this reſtraint raiſed the more: and they, who if it had bin lawfull, would have ſaid nothing, being once forbidden, could not forbeare to talke. It was alſo conſtantly reported, that the King was much diſquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often ſeeme to appeare unto him, in ſo terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull ſleepe, hee would curſe the time that ever hee knew him.

1398. In the one and twenty yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, *Henry* Earle of *Darby*, was created Duke of *Hereford*: at which time the King created foure other Dukes: to wit, Duke of *Aumerle*, who was before Earle of *Rutland*: Duke of *Southrey*, who was before Earle of *Kent*: Duke of *Exceſter*, who was before Earle of *Huntington*: and Duke of *Norfolke*, who was before Earle of *Nottingham*. This degree of honour long time after the conqueſt of

of the *Normans* (whoſe chiefeſt Rulers had no higher title) was accompted too great for a ſubject to beare: the fourme of the Commonwealth, being framed by the Victours, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminency of any. At the length King *Edward* the third created his eldeſt Sonne *Edward* Duke of *Cornewall*, and made this honour hereditary, conferring it unto many: ſince which time, divers Princes of his land have beene either put, or kept, or hazarded from their eſtate, by men of that quality and degree. The King likewiſe created the Counteſſe of *Norfolke*, Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*: the Earle of *Sommerſet*, Marqueſſe of *Sommerſet*: the Lord *Spencer*, Earle of *Gloceſter*: the Lord *Nevill*, Earle of *Weſtmerland*: the Lord *Scroupe*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy* his Steward, Earle of *Worceſter*. Among theſe, hee made diviſion of a great part of the lands of the Duke of

Gloceſter, and of the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*: ſuppoſing by this double liberality of honour and poſſeſſions, to have purchaſed to himſelfe moſt firme friendſhips: but bought friends, for the moſt part, are ſeldome either ſatisfied or ſure: and like certaine Ravens, in *Arabia*, ſo long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleaſant voice: but being empty, doe make a horrible cry.

Now the Duke of *Hereford* raiſed his deſires, together with his dignities, and either upon diſdaine, at the undeſerved favour and advancement of ſome perſons about the King: or upon diſlike, that the King was ſo diſhonourably both abuſed and abaſed by them: or elſe (perhaps) upon deſire, to manifeſt his owne ſufficiencie in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar diſcourſe with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, hee brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the Noble Princes of his bloud, and Peeres of the Realme,

and

and by extremities uſed to ſome, diſcouraged the reſt from intermedling in any publique affaires: how inſtead of theſe, hee was wholly governed by certaine new-found and new-fangled favorites, vulgar in birth, corrupt in qualities, having no ſufficiency either of councell for peace, or of courage for warre; who being of all men the moſt unhoneſt, and the moſt unable, with hatefulneſſe of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally deſpiſed in all the Realme: that hereby, Firſt, the honour of the Kings perſon was much blemiſhed; for ungrate and ungratious adherents are alway the way to hatred and contempt. Secondly, the ſafety of his ſtate might bee endangered; for extraordinary favour to men apparently of weake or bad deſert, doth breed inſolency in them, and diſcontentment in others, two dangerous humours in a Common-wealth. Thirdly, the dignity of the Realme was much empaired: whoſe fortune and valour

lour being guided by the ill chance of ſuch unlucky leaders, ſtood never in the like Tearmes of doubt and diſtreſſe; ſo that matters of peace were tumultuous and uncertaine, and atchievements of warre were never brought to honourable concluſion: that *Alexander Severus* would have ſmoaked ſuch ſellers of ſmoake; that *Xerxes* would have pulled their skinne over their eares; and high time it was, that the King ſhould looke unto them: for the Nobility grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people fell to a diſcontented murmuring. And this hee ſaid (as hee ſaid) not for any grudge, but for griefe and good will: and therefore deſired the Duke, who was one of the privy Councell, and well heard with the King, to diſcover unto him theſe deformities and dangers, that by repairing the one, hee might happily repell the other.

Theſe words procured to the Duke of *Hereford* both great offence,

fence, and great glory: at the delivery whereof, the Duke of *Norfolke* made ſhew of good liking, and promiſe of ſincere dealing. And indeed, if they had beene as faithfully reported by him, and by the King as friendly taken, as they were faithfully and friendly meant, many miſchiefes might have beene avoided: but both of theſe did faile: for the Duke of *Norfolke* although in former times he had taken part with the Lords, yet afterwards, being deſirous to bee accounted rather among the great men, then the good, hee made ſale of his honour, to maintaine his pleaſure, and continue himſelfe in grace with the King; to which hee was altogether inthralled: inſomuch, that the murthering of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the execution of the Earle of *Arundel*, was to his charge eſpecially committed: and ſuppoſing upon this occaſion to make a free hold of his Princes favour, hee grievouſly aggravated theſe ſpeeches in reporting them, and yet cun-

cunningly too: with many lies intermixing ſome truths, or making the truth much more then it was. Againe, the King not enduring the ſearch of his ſoares, did bend his mind rather to puniſh the boldneſſe, then examine the truth of theſe reproofes: his eares being ſo diſtempered with continuance of flattery, that hee accompted all ſharp that was ſound, and liked onely that which was preſently pleaſant, and afterwards hurtfull. Thus wee may dayly obſerve, that no ſtrange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by ſome meanes foreſhewed, or foretould: but becauſe theſe warnings are oftentimes either not marked, or miſconſtrued, or elſe contemned, the events are accompted inevitable and the admonitions vaine.

The King being in this ſort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not reſolved upon the ſuddaine, what to doe: therefore hee aſſembled his Councell and

and called the two Dukes before him, and demanded of the Duke of *Norfolke*, if he would openly avouch that which hee had ſuggeſted in ſecret. The Duke ſeeing it was now no time for him, either to ſhrinke or ſhuffle in his tale, with a bold and confident courage repeated all that before hee had reported. But the Duke of *Hereford* could not bee borne downe by countenance, where his cauſe was good: and therefore after a ſhort ſilence, whereby hee ſeemed rather amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of this matter, then abaſhed at the guilt, hee made low obeyſance to the King, and greatly both thanked and commended him, that hee had not given haſty credite to matters of ſuch tender touch, as his griefe might have borne out the blame of raſhneſſe in revenge; deſiring him to continue yet a while, the reſpite of his diſpleaſure, and to reſerve his judgement free for indifferent audience. Then he declared in order, what ſpeech had paſſed

from

from him, upon what occaſion, and to what end: all the reſt hee ſtoutly denied, affirming, that it was falſely ſurmiſed by his Adverſary, either upon malice to pick a quarrell; or upon ſycophancy to pick a thanke, and that thereupon hee was untrue, unjuſt, a forger of ſlanderous and ſeditious lies, whereby hee treacherouſly indevoured to ſeduce the King to deſtroy the Nobility, and to raiſe diſturbance within the Realme: and this hee offered to prove upon him (if the King would permit) by the ſtroake of a ſpeare and by dint of ſword. The Duke of *Norfolkes* ſtomack not uſed to beare ſcorne; could not diſgeſt theſe Tearmes of diſgrace: whereupon hee ſtiffely ſtood to his firſt imputation: & for maintenance thereof, he accepted, and alſo deſired the combate. The King would ſome other wayes have quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kind of agreement: and thereupon threw downe their gloves one againſt the other:

other for gages. The King ſeeing their obſtinacy, granted them the battaile, and aſſigned the place at the City of *Coventry*, in the Moneth of *Auguſt* then next inſuing: where in the meane time, hee cauſed a ſumptuous Theater, and Liſts royall to bee prepared.

At the day of combate, the two Dukes came, well handed with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their linage. The Duke of *Aumerle* for that day high Conſtable, and the Duke of *Surrey* for the ſame time and action, high Marſhall of *England*, entred into the Liſts, with a great troupe of men apparelled in ſilke ſondale, embroidered with ſilver, every man having a tipped ſtaff to keep the field in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of *Hereford* came to the Barriers of the Liſts mounted upon a white courſer, barbed with blew and greene velvet, embroidered gorgeouſly with Swans and Antilops of Goldſmiths worke, armed at all points, and his ſword drawne in his hand. The Conſtable and

and Marſhall came to the barriers, and demanded of him, who hee was? Hee anſwered: I am *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, and am come to doe my devoire againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, as a Traytour to God, the King, the Realme, and mee. Then hee ſware upon the Evangeliſts, that his quarrell was right, and upon that point deſired to enter the liſts, then hee put up his ſword, pulled downe his beavier, made a croſſe on his fore-head, and with ſpeare in hand, entred into the Liſts, and there lighted from his horſe, and ſate downe in a chaire of greene velvet, which was ſet in a traverſe of greene and blew velvet at the one end of the liſtes: and ſo expected the comming of his enemy: ſoone after King *Richard* entred the field with great pompe both in bravery and traine: hee had in his company, the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who came purpoſely out of *France* to ſee this combate tried; he was attended with all the Noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with

with tenne thouſand men in armes, for feare of any ſuddaine or intended tumult.

When hee was placed on his ſtage, which was very curiouſly and richly ſet forth, a King at armes made proclamation in the name of the King, and of the high Conſtable, and of the Marſhall, that no man, except ſuch as were appointed to order and marſhall the field, ſhould touch any part of the liſtes, upon paine of death. This proclamation being ended, another Herald cried: Behold here, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Duke of *Hereford*, appellant, who is entred into the liſtes Royall, to doe his devoire, againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* defendant, upon paine to bee accompted falſe and recreant. The Duke of *Norfolke* was hovering on horſeback at the entry of the liſtes, his horſe being barbed with crimſon velvet, embroadered richly with lions of ſilver; and mulbery trees: and when hee had made his oath, before the Conſtable and

and Marſhall, that his quarrell was juſt and true, hee entred the field boldly, crying aloud, God aid him that hath the right: then hee lighted from his horſe and ſat downe in a Chaire of crimſon velvet, curtained about with red and white Damaske, and placed at the other end of the Liſts. The Lord Marſhall viewed both their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall length: the one ſpeare hee carried himſelfe to the Duke of *Hereford*, and ſent the other to the Duke of *Norfolke* by a Knight. This done a Herrald proclaimed, that the traverſes and chaires of the combattants ſhould bee removed, commanding them in the Kings name, to mount on horſeback, and addreſſe themſelves to the encounter, the Dukes were quickly horſed, and cloſed their beavieres, and caſt their ſpeares into the reſts. Then the trumpets ſounded, and the Duke of *Hereford* ſet forth towards his enemy, about ſix or ſeaven paces; but before the Duke of *Norfolke* beganne to put for-

forward, the King caſt downe his Warder, and the Herralds cried ho: then the King cauſed the Dukes ſpeares to bee taken from them, and commanded them to forſake their horſes, and returne againe to their chaires: where they remained above two long houres, whilſt the King deliberated with his Councell what was fitteſt to bee done. At laſt, the Herralds cried ſilence: and Sir *Iohn Borcy* a Secretary of State, with a loud voice, read the ſentence and determination of the King and his Councell out of a long roule: wherein was contained, that *Henry* of *Lancaſter* Duke of *Hereford*, appellant, and *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, defendant, had honourably appeared that day within the Liſts Royall, and declared themſelves valiant and hardy Champions; being not only ready, but forward and deſirous to dare in the battell: but becauſe this was a matter of great conſequence and import, the King with the advice of his Councell, thought it meet to take the

ſame

ſame into his owne hands: and thereupon had decreed, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, becauſe hee had diſpleaſed the King, and for divers other conſiderations, ſhould within 15. dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the Tearme of tenne yeares, without the Kings eſpeciall licence, upon paine of death.

When this judgement was heard, a confuſed noiſe was raiſed among the people, ſome lamenting either the deſert, or the injury of the Duke of *Hereford*, whom they exceedingly favoured: others laughing at the conceit of the King: firſt in cauſing, and afterwards in fruſtrating ſo great an expectation: wherein hee ſeemed to doe not much unlike *Caligula*; who lying in *France* with a great army neere the Sea ſhoare, gave the ſigne of battell, ſet his men in array, marched forth as if it had beene to ſome great piece of ſervice and ſuddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then

Then the Herralds cried againe, ô Yes: and the Secretary did read on, how the King had likewi e ordained, that *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, becauſe hee had ſowen ſedition, by words whereof hee could make no proofe ſhould avoid the Realme of *England*, and never returne againe, upon paine of death: and that the King would take the profits and revenues of his lands, untill hee had received ſuch ſummes of money as the Duke had taken up, for wages of the garriſon of *Calis*, which was ſtill unpaid: and that the King prohibited, upon paine of his grievous diſpleaſure, that any man ſhould make ſuit or intreaty to him, on the behalfe of either of theſe two Dukes.

Theſe ſentences being in this ſort pronounced, the King called the two exiles before him, and tooke of them an oath, That they ſhould not converſe together in forraine Regions, nor one willingly come in place where the other was: fearing (as

(as it was like) leaſt their Common diſcontentment ſhould draw them, firſt to reconcilement, and afterward to revenge. But this policy was over weake for this purpoſe : for oaths are commonly ſpurned aſide, when they lye in the way, either to honour or revenge : and if their united forces was ſo much to bee regarded, their ſeperate powers was not altogether to bee contemned.

Therefore, the latter Princes of this Realme, have with more ſafety wholly aboliſhed the uſe of abjuration and exile : and doe either by death extinguiſh the power, or by pardon alter the will of great Offenders, from entring into deſperate and dangerous attempts ; which men in miſery and diſgrace, have more vehemency to beginne, and more obſtinacy to continue.

When the *Samnites* had once

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ſo encloſed the Romane Legions within certain ſtreights, that they left them neither ſpace to fight, nor way to fly: but without force enforced them to yeeld: they ſent to *Herennius Pontius*, an aged Ruler of their ſtate, for his adviſe, what were beſt for them to doe: his anſwer was, that the Romans ſhould be permitted to depart, without any hurt, loſſe or ſcorne. This pleaſed not ſuch as were either covetous for ſpoyle, or cruell for blood: and therefore they ſent unto him the ſecond time, who then returned anſwer, that the Romans ſhould be put to the ſword, and not one man ſuffered to eſcape. The contrariety of theſe two counſels, brought the old man into ſuſpition of dotage: but he comming in perſon to the Campe, maintained both to be good: the firſt whereof (which he thought beſt) would by unexpected favour, provoke the Romans to a perpetuall friendſhip: the ſecond would deferre the warres for many yeares, wherein the enemies ſhould

hardly recover ſtrength: third counſaile there was none that ſafely might be followed. Yes (ſaid the *Samnites*) to grant them their lives, yet with ſuch conditions of ſpoyle and ſhame, as the lawes of victory doe lay upon them. This is the way (anſwered *Herennius*) which neither winneth friends, nor weakneth enemies: but will much encreaſe the fury againſt us, and nothing diminiſh the force. And even ſo, in matters of more particularity, that courſe of puniſhment is out of courſe, which doth neither reclaime the mind of men, nor reſtraine the might from miſchievous endeavours. But again to our purpoſe.

The Duke of *Norfolke*, having now got a fall, where he thought to take his reſt, repented his enterpriſe, and utterly condemned his light conceit of the Kings lightneſſe, and ſo with extreame griefe and anguiſh of mind, hee departed out of the Realme into *Almaine*, and from thence travelled to *Venice*; where through

through violence of thought and discontentment, in ſhort time he ended his dayes. This ſentence of baniſhment was given againſt him the ſame day of the yeare, wherein the Duke of *Gloceſter* by his wicked meanes was ſtrangled to death at *Calice*.

The Duke of *Hereford* tooke his leave of the King at *Eltham*, who there ſtroke away foure yeares of his baniſhment, and even offered himſelfe to be fawned upon and thanked, for ſo odious a benefit. And this inſortunate adventure hee neither bare out vainglorioufly, nor yet tooke impatiently: but in the midſt of his miſery, retained ſtill his reputation and honour; ſhewing no ſigne of ſorrow or ſubmiſneſſe in his countenance, nor letting fall any intemperate and unſeemly word. The people as he departed, by heaps flocked about him, ſome to ſee, and ſome to ſalute him: lamenting his departure in ſuch ſort, as though their only light and delight did then forſake

them: not ſparing to exclaime, that it was againſt the Law of Armes, againſt the cuſtome of the Realme, and againſt all right whatſoever, that he ſhould be exiled, who had done his honourable endeavour for the maintenance of his appeale. This affection was the more exceſſive, for that the Duke was driven into exile by occaſion of his liberall ſpeeches, againſt the moſt hatefull perſons in all the Realme: and being the only nobleman then alive, of the popular faction, the love was wholly accumulated upon him, which was before divided among the reſt. And thus the Duke leaving *England*, tooke ſhipping and paſſed the Seas to Calice, and from thence went into *France*; where he was honourably entertained by *Charles* the French King, and found ſuch favour, that hee ſhould have taken to wife the onely daughter of *Iohn* Duke *Berrie*, Vncle to the King of *France*, but King *Richard* fearing the ſequel, if the favour which was borne to the Duke

of

of *Hereford* within the Realme, ſhould be ſtrengthned with ſo great affinity in *France*, caſt ſuch ſtops in the way, that the marriage did not proceed.

This yeare the Lawrell trees withered, almoſt throughout the Realme, & afterwards againſt all expectation, recovered life and flouriſhed againe. The ſame yeare in Chriſtmaſſe holydayes a deepe River which runneth betweene *Snedliſtorie* & *Hareſwood*, neare to *Bedford*, ſuddenly ſtayed the ſtreame: ſo that for three miles in length, the channell was left dry, and no courſe of water did hinder paſſage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted to preſage, the revolt of the people, and the diviſion which happened the yeare following: to theſe wee may adde certaine other prodegies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of courſe, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth enſue. When K. *Richard* brought his firſt wife out of *Beame*,

ſhe had no ſooner ſet foot within this Land, but ſuch a tempeſt did forthwith ariſe, as had not beene ſeene many yeares before: whereby divers ſhips within the haven were quaſhed to peices, but eſpecially, and firſt of all, the ſhip wherein the Queene was carried, this was the rather obſerved, becauſe ſuch ſtiffe ſtormes were likewiſe ſtirring, when the King brought his ſecond wife out of *France*: wherein many ſhips periſhed, and a great part of the Kings fardage was loſt. At Newcaſtle upon Tine, as two ſhipwrights were ſquaring a piece of Timber, whereſoever they hewed, blood iſſued forth in great abundance. At one of the Kings palaces, flyes ſwarmed ſo thicke, that they obſcured the ayre: theſe fought together moſt fiercely, ſo that lackfuls lay dead upon the ground, and this continued ſo long, that ſcarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained alive, many like accidents are recorded of that time; but I will maine-

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taine neither the truth of them, nor what they did pretend: being a matter wherein moſt men are rather ſuperſtitious, then not credulous, and doe oftentimes repute common occurrences to be ominous, when any ſtrange event doth enſue. Yet as I am loath to avouch any vaine and trifling matter, ſo dare I not detract all truth from things anciently reported; although done in an age wherein was ſome delight in lying, many doe ſuppoſe, that thoſe things which are fatally allotted, though they never be avoyded, yet ſometimes are foreſhewen: not ſo much that we may prevent them, as that wee ſhould prepare our ſelves againſt them.

In the two and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of *Lancaſter* dyed, and was buried, on the north-ſide of the high altar, of the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul* in London, he was a man adviſed and wary in his paſſages of life, liking better ſafe courſes with

reason, then happy by chance: of his owne glory, hee was neither negligent, nor ambitiously carefull: towards the King hee carried himselfe in termes honourable enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not so plausible as a vaine man would desire; whereby there never happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in prejudice or preferment. After his death, the Duchie of *Lancaster* did in right devolue to the Duke of *Hereford*, his eldest sonne: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate those whom he hath harmed) seazed all the Lands and goods which appertained to the Duke of *Lancaster*, into his owne hands, and determined to perpetuate the banishment of Duke *Henry* his sonne: revoking the Letters Patents, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall Attornies were enabled to prosecute his causes, and sue Liverie of any inheritance: which during his exile, might fall unto him, his homage being respited

ted for a reaſonable fine. The King ſuppoſed his eſtate more ſafe, by the weakneſſe and want of the Duke, whom he had now in ſome jealouſie and doubt: but theſe violent dealings were meanes rather to provoke his miſchiefes, then to prevent them; for by injurious ſuppreſſing of the Dukes greatneſs, he greatly augmented the ſame.

Edmund Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings only Vncle which remained alive, had hitherto enforced his patience, to endure many things againſt his liking: but now either in diſdaine of this indignity, or in diſtruſt both of his own ſafety and of the common tranquillity of the Realme, he retyred himſelfe with the Duke of *Aumerle* his ſonne, to his houſe at *Langley*: ſuppoſing priuateneſſe to be the beſt defence, both from danger and blame, wher neither the king had judgement to diſcerne, nor any about him had, either heart or honeſty to admoniſh him what was done amiſſe; where an honourable

ſame was held ſuſpected, and a good life more in hazard then a bad: proteſting that none of theſe practiſes, were either deviſed by his counſaile, or done by his conſent.

At this time, the whole frame of the ſtate was much ſhaken, and matters of great weight and moment did hang by a very ſlender thred. The King was plunged in pleaſure and ſloath: after whoſe example, others alſo (as men doe commonly conforme their minds according to the Princes diſpoſition) gave over themſelves to delicacy and eaſe: whereby cowardiſe crept in, and ſhipwracke was made, both of manhood and glory. The chiefeſt affaires of ſtate had beene ordered for a long time, according to private reſpects, whereby the Commonwealth loſt both the fit and the favour, and ſeemed not at ſeaſons and by degrees, but with a maine courſe, and at once to ruinate, and fall. The north parts were many times canvaſed, and by ſmall, yet often loſſes, almoſt

almoſt conſumed by the *Scots*: who had there taken many townes and caſtles, and defaced all the countrey with ſlaughter and ſpoyle. Likewiſe the ſouth parts were oftentimes waſted by the Frenchmen: and in *France* many ſtrong holds were loſt. It was alſo conſtantly affirmed, that the King made agreement to deliver unto the King of *France*, the poſſeſſion of *Calice*, and of other townes which hee held in thoſe parts; but the performance thereof was reſiſted by the Lords: whether this were true or ſurmiſed probably, as agreeable to the Kings looſe government, I cannot certainely affirme. As for *Ireland*, which in time of K. *Edward* the third, was kept in order and awe, by acquainting the people with religion and civility, and drawing them to delight in the plenty and pleaſures of well reclaimed countries; whereby it yeelded to the Kings coffers thirty thouſand pounds every yeare: it was then ſuffered to runne into waſte, and

and the people by rudeneſſe became intractible: ſo that the holding thereof charged the King, with the yearly diſpence of thirty thouſand markes. Many ſuccours had beene ſent into theſe ſeverall countries; but ſcatteringly, and dropping, and never ſo many at once, as to furniſh the wars fully. The King made ſome expeditions in his owne perſon, with great preparation and charge: but being once out of credit, whatſoever fell out well, was attributed to others; misfortunes were imputed onely to him. If any thing were happily atchieved by ſome of the Nobility, it was by the Kings baſe-hearted Paraſites, to whom military vertue was altogether unpleaſant, ſo extenuated or depraved, or envied, that it was ſeldome rewarded, ſo much as with countenance and thankes: yea ſometimes it procured ſuſpicion and danger, the King being informed by a cunning kind of enemies, Commenders, that to be a diſcreet and valiant Commander in the field, was a vertue

vertue peculiar to a Prince; and that it was a perillous point, to have the name of a man of private eſtate, famous for the ſame in every mans mouth. Hereupon, few ſought to riſe by vertue and valour, the readier way was, to pleaſe the pleaſant humour of the Prince. Likewiſe matters of peace, were managed by men of weakeſt ſufficiency, by whoſe councell either ignorant or corrupt, the deſtruction of the beſt hearted Nobility, was many times attempted, and at the laſt wrought. The profits and revenues of the Crowne were ſaid to bee let to farme, the King making himſelfe Landlord of his Realme, and challenging no great priviledge by his Raigne, but only a diſſolute and uncontrouled life. Great ſummes of money were yearely rather exacted from the ſubjects, then by them voluntarily granted: wherof no good did enſue, but the maintenance of the Kings private delights, & the advancement of his hatefull favorites. To theſe he was ſomewhat a-

bove his power liberall: for which cauſe, hee was faine to borrow, beg, and extort in other places: but hee purchaſed not ſo much love by the one, as hate by the other. Beſides the ordinary tearmes of tenths and fifteenths, which were many times paid double in one yeare, divers new impoſitions were by him deviſed and put in uſe: ſometimes exacting xii.d. of every perſon throughout the Realme: ſometimes of every religious man and woman vi.s.viii.d. and of every ſecular Prieſt as much, and of every lay perſon married or ſole, xii.d. Vnder the favourable tearme of benevolence, he wiped away from the people ſuch heaps of money, as were little anſwerable to that free and friendly name. He borrowed in all places of the Realme great ſummes of money upon his privy Seals, ſo that no man of worth could eſcape his loane: but he ſeldome, and to few, returned payment againe.

This preſent yeare, he ſent certain Biſhops,

Biſhops, and other perſonages of honour, to all the ſhires and Corporations within the Realme, to declare unto the people the Kings heavy diſpleaſures againſt them, for that they had beene abetters and complices of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and of the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*: and that the King was minded to make a roade upon them, as common enemies, except they would acknowledge their offence, and ſubmit themſelves to his mercy and grace. Hereupon, all the men of worth in every ſhire, and Towne-corporate, made their acknowledgement and ſubmiſſion in writing under their ſeales: and afterwards were faine to graunt unto the King ſuch importable ſummes of money, to purchaſe againe his favour, as the'and being alreadie greatly impoveriſhed, they were hardly able to endure. Then were exacted of them ſtrange and unaccuſtomed oathes, vvhich vvere put likevviſe in vvriting under their ſeale. They vvere alſo compelled to

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set their hands and seales to blancke charts; wherein the King might afterwards cause to be written what he would: so that all the wealth of the Realme was in a manner at his devotion and pleasure. These and such like violences, were farre wide from the moderate government of King *Henry* the second: who maintaining great warres, and obtayning a larger dominion, then pertained at any other time to this Realme of *England*, never demanded subsidie of his subjects: and yet his treasure after his death, was found to be nine hundred thousand pounds, besides his Iewels, and his plate.

In this sort the King bearing a heavie hand upon his subjects, and they againe a heavie heart against him, and being withall a Prince weake in action, and not of valour sufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length resolved to revolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure safety joyned with

slavery:

ſlaverie: ſo they attended occaſion, which ſhortly after was thus offered. The King received Letters of advertiſement out of *Ireland* (which being priviledged from other venimous beaſts, hath alwayes beene peſtered with traytors) how the Barbarous Iriſh had cut in pieces his Garriſon, and ſlaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (who had beene declared heyre apparent to the Crowne) exerciſing all the cruelty in waſting of the countrey, which wrath and rage of victory could incite a barbarous people to practiſe. This loſſe being great in it ſelfe, the hard affection of the people did much augment by report: whereupon the King deliberated, whether it were requiſite that hee ſhould undertake the warre in perſon, or commit it to Commanders of lower degree? Some perſwaded him, that wholly to ſubdue *Ireland*, ſtood neither with policie, nor yet almoſt with poſſibility: for if it were fully & quietly poſſeſſed, ſome governor might hap to grow to that greatneſſe,

as

as to make himſelfe abſolute Lord thereof; and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then ſuſpected by mighty friends; and yet by what meanes ſhould thoſe bogges and thoſe woods be overcome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other countries? then if the purpoſe were, only to repreſſe the ſavage people, the warre was of no ſuch weight, as ſhould draw the King to ſtand in the field: and therfore he might ſtay in the Weſt parts in *England*, and from thence make ſhew of the Princely puiſſance and ſtate; neither venturing his perſon without cauſe, and already at hand if need ſhould require. Others were of opinion, that to ſubdue and repleniſh *Ireland*, was a matter neither of difficulty nor danger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credit might be given to ancient Hiſtories, this Realme of *England* was once as inſuperable with bogs and woods,

as

as *Ireland* was then: but the Roman Conquerors kept not their presidiarie Souldiers in idle garrison, whereby many times the mind grew mutinous, and the body diseased, and both unable for the labour and hardnesse of the field: but they held as well them, as the subdued Britains continually exercised, either in building of townes in places of best advantage; or in making of high wayes: or else in drayning and paving of bogs: by which meanes the countrey was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good manners, not rudely to repulse the flattering assaults of pleasure; preferring subjection with plenty, before beggerly and miserable liberty. That the same *Romans* also kept many larger Countries in quiet obedience, (so long as they were quiet among themselves) without either feare or danger of any Governours; first by dividing them into small Provinces: Secondly by constituting in every province divers officers, as Lieutenants

tenants and Procurators, whereof one was able to reſtraine the other; the firſt having power over the bodies of the ſubjects, the ſecond over their goods: thirdly, by changing theſe officers every yeare: which was too ſhort a time to eſtabliſh a ſoveraignty: Laſtly, by retaining at *Rome*, their wives and children, and whole private eſtate, as pledges for their true demeanour. That the danger was rather to bee feared, leaſt a weake enemy whileſt he was contemned, ſhould gather ſtrength, and be able to ſtand upon termes of withſtanding: example hereof happened when the *Romans* overcame this Iland: for many Britaines, who upon no conditions would abide bondage, withdrew themſelves into the North parts of the land, and by maintaining their ancient cuſtome of painting their bodies, were called of the *Romans*, *Picti*: theſe were neglected a long time, and held in ſcorne, as neither of force, nor of number to be thought worthy the name of enemies

mies: but afterwards they confederated themſelves with other people, and ſo ſharpely aſſaulted the ſubdued Britaines, that being unable to reſiſt, and the Romans ſhrinking from them, they were conſtrained to deſire helpe of the Saxons, and ſo betweene their enemies and their aids, (being ſet as it were betwixt the beetle and the blocke) they loſt the poſſeſſion of the beſt part of their land. That it was a pittifull policy for aſſurance of peace, to lay all waſte as a wilderneſſe, and to have dominion over trees and beaſts, and not over men. That hereby the King did looſe the revenue of a fruitfull countrey, and the benefit of wealthy ſubjects, which are the ſureſt treaſure that a prince can have. That hereby alſo the majeſty of his eſtate was much impaired: for (as *Salomon* ſaith) *The honour of a king conſiſteth in the multitude of ſubjects.* That the country being unfurniſhed of people, was open to all opportunity of forrain enemies. That if none of theſe reſpects would

move:

move: yet the King was bound in duty to reduce those savages to the true worship of God, who did then either prophanely contemne him, or superstitiously serve him.

These reasons so weighed with the King, that hee gathered a mighty Army, determining to goe in person into *Ireland*, and to pacifie the countrey before his returne: but all his provision was at the charge of the subjects: and whereas in time of sedition, a wise Prince will least grieve his people: as seeming to stand in some sort at their courtesie, and having to imploy their bodies beside; the King in peace no storer for war, was forced to offend, when he should have beene most carefull to winne favour. So about Whitsontide, hee set forth on his voyage with many men, and few souldiers; being a dissolute and untrained company, and out of all compasse of obedience, hee carried with him his whole treasure, and all the goods and ancient Iewels appertaining to the Crowne. In his

his company went the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and divers other noble men, and many Biſhops, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*. Hee alſo tooke with him the ſonnes of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and of the Duke of *Hereford*; whoſe favourers he chiefely feated.

When he came to Briſtow, he was put into ſuſpicion, (whether upon ſome likelihood, or meere malice) that *Henry Piercy* Earle of Northumberland, and certaine others, entended ſome diſloyall enterpriſe againſt him: and for that cauſe did not follow him into *Ireland*, but had faſtned friendſhip with the King of *Scots*, upon purpoſe to retire themſelves into his countrey, if their attempts ſhould faile. Herenpon the King ſent meſſage that the Earle ſhould forthwith come unto him with all the power, that he could conveniently make. The Earle returned anſwer, that it was unneceſſary in reſpect of that ſervice, to draw men from ſuch diſtant places: for the

the Iriſh rebels were neither ſo many nor ſo mighty, but the King had ſtrength at hand ſufficient to ſuppreſſe them: that it was alſo dangerous to diſfurniſh the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottiſh Borderers, who were alwayes uncertaine friends in their extremities, and aſſured enemies upon advantage. The King ſeeing his commandement in theſe termes, both contemned and controuled, would not ſtand to reaſon the matter with the Earle, neither had he the reaſon to defer revenge, untill hee had full power to worke it: but preſently in the violence of his fury, cauſed the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traytors, and all their Lands and goods to be ſeized to his uſe. The Earle tooke grievouſly this diſgrace, and determined to cure and cloſe up this harme with the diſturbance of the common ſtate. And thus the King having feathered theſe arrowes againſt his owne breſt, paſſed forth in his Iourney into *Ireland*.

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This expedition at the firſt proceeded and ſucceeded exceedingly well, and the King obtained many victories, even without battell, as leading his men to a ſlaughter rather then to a fight: for the ſavage *Iriſh* were not under one government, but were divided into many partialities and factions, and ſeldome did two or three parts joyne their Common ſtrength and ſtudy together: ſo whileſt one by one did fight, all of them were either ſubdued or ſlaine. But theſe newes little rejoyced the Common people, they luſted not to liſten thereto: their common talke was to recount their common grievances, to lay them together, and aggravate them by conſtruction: every man more abounding in complaints then hee did in miſeries. Alſo the Noble men (the principall object of cruelty) beganne to diſcourſe both their private dangers, and the deformities of the State: and upon opportunity of the Kings abſence, ſome of them did conſpire to cut off

that authority which would not bee confined, and to caſt it upon ſome other, who was moſt like to repaire that which King *Richard* had ruined: or if (ſaid they) our power ſhall come ſhort of ſo good a purpoſe, yet will wee ſell him both our lives and lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace wee cannot enjoy: The onely man upon whom all men reſolved, was *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* (whom ſince the death of his Father they called Duke of *Lancaſter*) not at his owne motion or deſire, but becauſe hee was generally eſteemed meet: as being of the Royall bloud, and next by deſcent from males to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne: one that had made honourable proofe of his vertues and valour: the onely man of note that remained alive, of thoſe that before had ſtood in armes againſt the King for the behoofe of the Commonwealth: for which cauſe hee was deepely touched at that time both in honour and in ſtate. This attempt

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pleaſed as poſſible to prove, and of neceſſity to be followed: whereupon they ſecretly diſpatched their letters to the Duke, ſolliciting his ſpeedy returne into *England*, and declaring that as well for the benefit of the Realme, as for their owne particular ſafety, they were forced to uſe force againſt King *Richard*: that if it would pleaſe him to make the head, they would furniſh him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his unfortunate government, and to ſettle the poſſeſſion of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to ſuſtaine the ſame: that they would not provide him a baſe multitude onely, and they themſelves helpe in bare wiſhes and adviſe, but would alſo adjoyne their hands and their lives, ſo that the perill ſhould be common to all, the glory only his, if fortune favoured the enterpriſe. Theſe letters were conveyed by men crafty and bold, yet of ſure credit, and inward in truſt with the Duke: who paſſing into *France*, firſt aſſociated

unto them, *Thomas Arundel* late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and at that time (whether deſervedly or without cauſe) an exile in *France*: then they travelled by ſeverall wayes, and in counterfeit attire to *Paris*, where all met at the Houſe of one *Clugney*, where the Duke then ſojourned. After ſome courteſies of courſe, with welcome on the one ſide, and thanks on the other, and joy of both: the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having obtained of the Duke privacy and ſilence, made unto him a ſolemne oration in theſe words, or to this ſenſe following.

Wee are ſent unto you (right high and Noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and States of our land, not to ſeeke revenge againſt our King upon private injury and diſpleaſure: nor upon a deſperate diſcontentment to ſet the State on fire: nor to procure the ambitious advancement of any particular perſon: but to open unto you the deformities and decayes of our broken eſtate, and to deſire

ſire your aid, in ſtaying the ruinous downefall of the ſame. The remembrance of the honourable reputation that our Countrey hath borne, and the Noble acts which it hath atchieved, doth nothing elſe, but make the baſeneſſe more bitter unto us, whereinto it is new fallen. Our victorious armes have heretofore beene famous and memorable not onely within the bounds of our Ocean Sea, and in the Ilands adjoyning unto us; but alſo in *France*, in *Spaine*, and in other parts of *Europe*, yea in *Aſia* and in *Africk*, againſt the Infidels and Barbarians: ſo that all Chriſtian Princes have beene either glad to imbrace our friendſhip or loath to provoke us to hoſtility. But now the rude *Scots*, whoſe ſpirits we have ſo many times broken & brought on their knees, do ſcornefully inſult upon us: the naked and fugitive *Iriſh*, have ſhaked off our ſhackles, and glutteth themſelves upon us, with maſſacres and ſpoiles: with theſe wee dayly fight, not for glory, but to live: inſomuch as we are

become a pitty to our friends, and a very jeaſt to our moſt baſe and contemptible enemies. Indeed the King hath both ſent and led great armies into theſe Countries, but in ſuch ſort, that they have much waſted the Realme with their maintenance: but neither revenged nor relieved it with their armes: and no mervaile, for all our diligent and diſcreet leaders (the very ſinewes of the field) are either put to death, or baniſhed, or elſe ly buried in obſcurity and diſgrace: and the marſhalling of all affaires is committed (without any reſpect of ſufficiency or deſert) to the counſaile and conduct of thoſe who can beſt apply themſelves to the Kings youthfull delights. Among theſe ancient Nobility is accompted a vaine jeaſt; wealth, and vertue are the ready meanes to bring to deſtruction.

It grieves mee to ſpeake, but it helpeth not, to hide that which every man ſeeth: our Anceſtours lived in the higheſt pitch and perfection of liberty;

liberty, but wee of ſervility; being in the nature not of ſubjects, but of abjects, and flat ſlaves; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proud and diſdainefull favorites: not alwayes the ſame, but ever new: and no ſooner have wee ſatisfied ſome, but freſh hungry Maſters are ſtreight wayes ſet upon us, who have more endammaged us by extortion and bribes, then the enemy hath done by the ſword. What unuſuall kinds of exactions are dayly put in practiſe? without either meaſure or end, & oftentimes without need; or if any be, it proceedeth rather upon riotous expenſes, then any neceſſity of honourable charge: and great ſummes of money are pulled and pilled from good ſubjects, to bee throwne away amongſt unprofitable unthrifts. And if any man openeth his mouth againſt theſe extorted taxations, then either by feined imputation of capitall crimes, or by ſmall matters aggravated, or elſe by open cruelty and force, his life or liberty is forth with

hazarded. It were too tedious, too odious, too frivolous to put you in mind of particular examples, as though your owne eſtate, and the lamentable loſſe of your Vncle, and other Noble friends, could bee forgotten: yea I ſuppoſe that there is no man of quality within the Realme, who either in his owne perſon, or in his neereſt friends, doth not plainely perceive, that no man enjoyeth the ſafegard of his goods, and ſuerty of his body; but rich men in the one, and great men in the other are continually endangered. This then is our caſe; but what is our remedy? we have endured, and we have entreated: but our patience have drawne more heavy burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one, our livings, and our lives by the other are dayly devoured. And therefore we are now compelled to ſhake off our ſhoulders this importable yoke, and ſubmit our ſelves to the ſoveraiguty of ſome more moderate and worthy perſon: not ſo much for the griefe

griefe of our miſeries which are paſt, nor for the paine of our preſent diſtreſſes, as for feare of ſuch dangers as are moſt like to enſue; for the King hath cut away the chiefe of the Nobility, and the Commons he hath pared to the quick, and ſtill he harrieth us as a conquered Country: whereby we are laid bare to the havock of all our enemies, and utterly diſabled, not only to recover that which is loſt, but alſo to retain even that which is left. But to whom ſhould we complaine? what ſuccour, whoſe aid ſhould we deſire? you are the onely man, who in right ſhould, and in wiſedome can, and in goodneſſe will (we hope) relieve us. For you are neereſt to the King in bloud, and therefore ought to have the rule of that which his weakneſſe cannot wield. Your yeares are well ſtayed from the light conceits of youth, and ſo ſpent, that all your actions have made proofe of ability in government of greateſt charge: nothing paſt needeth excuſe, and feare is vain for any thing to come. The pains

and perils which heretofore you have undertaken for the benefit of your Countrey, putteth us also in good hope, that in these extremities you will not forsake us; wee are all as in a ship that is ready to sinke, as in a house that is ready to fall, and doe most humbly crave and call for your helpe, now or else never shew your selfe in favour of your Countrymen, to free us, to free your selfe, to free the whole State from these dangers and decayes, by taking into your hands the sceptre and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the government thereof to a Princely freedome; in combining the Soveraignty of one with the liberty of all. Omit not this occasion, to set forth to the view of the World, as in a large field, and at free scope your vertue and courage, by relieving miserable wretches from their Oppressours: which action hath bin so highly honoured, that many Heathen men for the same, have beene accompted as Gods. This we are constrained to of-

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for and intreat: this is both honourable for you to accept, and easie to bee performed; and so much the more, in that no Prince, by any people have beene desired with greater affection, nor shall bee with more duty obeyed.

The Duke entertained this speech with great moderation of mind, shewing himselfe neither disturbed thereat, nor excessive in joy. His answer concerning the King, was respective and well tempered; rather lamenting his weakenesse then blaming his malice. Concerning himselfe hee spake so modestly, that hee seemed rather worthy of a Kingdome, then desirous. The life (quoth hee) which hitherto I have led, hath alwayes beene free from ambitious attempts: and the stayednesse of my yeares, hath now setled my mind from aspiring thoughts; & experience of former dangers hath bred in mee a wary regard in such weighty proceedings; for to cast a King out of state, is an enterprise not hastily to be resol-

reſolved upon, nor eaſily affected: but ſuppoſe that matter not impoſſible; and perhaps not hard, yet the rateneſſe of that like precedents, will make the action ſeeme injurious to moſt men: and hee that ſhall attaine a Kingdome upon opinion of deſert, doth charge himſelfe with great expectation, and how honourably ſoever hee carry himſelfe, ſhall never want his deadly Enviers: beſides this, in civill diſſentions the faith of the whole people is fleeting, and danger is to be doubted from every particular perſon: ſo that it is poſſible that all may fall away, and impoſſible to beware of every one. Therefore I could rather wiſh to ſpend the courſe of my yeares which yet remaine in this obſcure, yet ſafe and certaine ſtate, then to thruſt my ſelfe upon the pikes of thoſe perils, which being once entred into, are dangerous to follow, and deadly to forſake: for in private attempts, a man may ſtep and ſtop when hee pleaſe: but hee that aimeth at a Kingdome, hath no middle

dle courſe betweene the life of a Prince, and the death of a Traytour.

The Archbiſhop hearing this, did as vainely perſiſt in importuning the Duke, as hee vainely ſeemed unwilling and ſtrange. The ſtate (ſaid hee) wherein now you ſtand, is not ſo ſafe and certaine as you doe conceive. Indeed, by rejecting our requeſt you ſhall avoid certaine dignity, and therewith uncertaine and contingent dangers; but you ſhall procure moſt certaine deſtruction both to your ſelfe and us. For this ſecret cannot bee kept long ſecret from the King: and even good Princes are nice in points of ſoveraignty, and beare a nimble eare to the touch of that ſtring: and it more hurteth a ſubject to be eſteemed worthy of the Kingdome, then it will profit him to have refuſed the offer. What then will he doe, who putteth the chiefeſt ſurety of his raigne in the baſeneſſe & bareneſſe of his ſubjects? whoſe head being poſſeſſed with eternall jealouſy, maketh every preſumption a proofe, and

and every light surmise a strong suspition against them. Surely since the generall favour and love which the people beareth you, hath bereaved you of your liberty, this their generall desire will not leave your life untouched. As for us, if wee either faint in our intent, or faile in the interprise, *actum est:* we shall be as lambs among lions: and no conquest can be so cruell as the Kings raigne will bee over us. Certainely we have gone too far, for to goe back; and the time is past, when you for ambition and wee for envy might seeme to attempt against the King: the attainment of the Kingdome must now bee a Sanctuary and refuge for us both. The like examples are not rare (as you affirme) nor long since put in practise, nor farre hence to be fetched. The Kings of *Denmarke* and of *Swealand*, are oftentimes banished by their Subjects; oftentimes imprisoned and put to their fine; the Princes of *Germany*, about an hundred yeares past, deposed *Adulphus* their Emperour, and are now in

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hand to depoſe their Emperour *Wenceſlaus*. The Earle of *Flanders* was a while ſince driven out of his Dominion by his owne people, for uſurping greater power then appertained to his eſtate. The ancient *Britaines* chaſed away their owne King *Carecious*, for the lewdneſſe of his life, and cruelty of his rule. In the time of the *Saxon Heptarchy*, *Bernredus*, King of *Mercia*, for his pride and ſtoutnes towards his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe *Aldredus* and *Ethelbertius* Kings of *Northumberland*, were for their diſorders expelled by their ſubjects. Since the victory of the *Normans*, the Lords endeavoured to expell King *Henry* the third, but they were not able: yet were they able to depoſe King *Edward* the ſecond, and to conſtitute his young Sonne *Edward* King in his ſtead: theſe are not all, and yet enough to cleare this action of rareneſſe in other Countries, and novelty in our. The difficulty indeed is ſomewhat, becauſe the excellency is great:

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but they that are afraid of every bush, shall never take the bird: and your selfe had once some triall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blowes, you had the King at such a lift, as hee held his Crowne at your courtesie, even at that time when his grievances were, neither for greatnesse nor continuance, so intollerable as now they are growne: and by reason of his tender yeares, not out of all compasse, both of excuse for the fault, and of hope for amendment. And as concerning the lawfulnesse.

Nay (said the Duke) where necessity doth inforce, it is superfluous to use speech, either of easinesse or of lawfulnesse: necessity will beate thorow brasen walles; and can bee limited by no lawes. I have felt very deeply my part in these calamities, and I would you knew with what griefe I have beheld yours: for what other reward have I received, of all my travailes and services, but the death of my Vncle & dearest friends,

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my owne baniſhment, the impriſonment of my Children, and loſſe of my inheritance? and what have beene returned to you, for your bloud ſo often ſhed in his unfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, ſcourges, gallowes, and ſlavery? I have made ſufficient proofe both of patience in my owne miſeries, and of pitty in yours: remedy them hitherto I could not: If now I can, I will not refuſe to ſuſtaine that part, which your importunity doth impoſe upon mee, if wee prevaile, we ſhall recover againe our liberty: if we looſe, our State ſhall bee no worſe then now it is: and ſince we muſt needs periſh, either deſervingly, or without cauſe, it is more honourable to put our ſelves upon the adventure either to winne our lives, or to dye for deſert: and although our lives were ſafe, which indeed are not, yet to abandon the State, and ſleepe ſtill in this ſlavery; were a point of negligence and ſloath. It remaineth then, that wee uſe both ſecrecy and celerity, laying hold upon the

the oportunity which the Kings abſence hath now preſented unto us: for in all enterpriſes which never are commended before they bee atchieved, delayes are dangerous, and more ſafe it is to bee found in action, then in counſaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, have rebelled already.

So the Meſſengers departed into *England*, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation againſt his arrivall, both of armour, and of ſubjection, and deſire to obey. Preſently after their departure, the Duke ſignified to *Charles* King of *France*, that hee had a deſire to goe into *Britaine*, to viſite *John* Duke of *Britaine* his friend and kinſman. The King ſuſpecting no further fetch, ſent letters of commendation in his favour, to the Duke of *Britaine*: but if hee had ſurmiſed any dangerous drift againſt King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his Daughter to wife; in ſtead of letters of ſafe conduct, hee would have found

found letts to have kept him safe from disturbing his Sonne in lawes estate.

As soone as the Duke was come into *Britaine*, hee waged certaine souldiers, and presently departed to *Calis*, and so committed to Sea for *England*; giving forth, that the onely cause of his voyage, was to recover the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and the rest of his lawfull inheritance, which the King wrongfully detained from him. In this company was *Thomas Arundel* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Thomas* the Sonne and Heire of *Richard* late Earle of *Arundel*, who was very young, and had a little before escaped out of prison, and fled into *France* to the Duke. The residue of his attendants were very few, not exceeding the number of fifteene lances: so that it is hard to esteeme whether it was greater marvaile, either that he durst attempt, or that he did prevaile with so small a company: but his chiefest confidence was in the favour and assistance of the

the people within the Realme. So he did beare with *England*, yet not in a ſtreight courſe, but floated along the ſhoare, making head ſometimes to one coaſt, and ſometime to another, to diſcover what forces were in a readines either to reſiſt or receive him.

As he was in this ſort hovering on the Seas, Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings Vncle, to whom the King had committed the cuſtody of the Realme during the time of his abſence, called vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Lord Chancellour, and *William Scroupe* Earle of *Wiltſhire*, Lord Treaſurour of of the Realme, alſo Sir *Iohn Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Greene*, Sir *William Bagot*, Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, and certaine others of the Kings Privy Councell; and entred into deliberation what was beſt to be done. At the laſt it was concluded, deceitfully by ſome, unskilfully by others, and by all perniciouſly for the King; to leave the Sea coaſts, and to leave *London*, the very Walles and

Caſtle

Caſtle of the Realme, and goe to S. *Albons*, there to gather ſtrength ſufficient to encounter with the Duke. It is moſt certain that the Dukes ſide was not any wayes more furthered, then by this diſſembling and deceiveable dealing: for open hoſtility and armes, may openly and by armes be reſiſted: but privy practiſes as they are hardly eſpied, ſo are they ſeldome avoided. And thus by this meanes the Duke landed about the feaſt of S. *Martin*, without let or reſiſtance, at *Ravenſpur* in *Houlderneſſe*, as moſt Writers affirme.

Preſently after his arrivall, there reſorted to him Lord *Henry Pearcy* Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Henry* his Sonne, Earle of *Weſtmerland*, Lord *Radulph Nevil*, Lord *Roſe*, Lord *Willoughby*, and many other perſonages of honour, whoſe company encreaſed reputation to the cauſe, and was a great countenance and ſtrength to the Dukes further purpoſes. And firſt they tooke of him an oath, that he ſhould neither procure nor

not permit any bodily harme to bee done unto King *Richard*; whereupon they bound themſelves upon their honours to proſecute all extremities againſt his miſchievous Counſailors. And this was one ſtep further then that which the Duke pretended at the firſt, when hee tooke ſhipping at *Calis*, which was onely the recovery of his inheritance: but that was as yet not determined, nor treated, and of ſome perhaps not thought upon; which afterwards it did enſue: and ſo was that place eaſily inſinuated into by degrees, which with maine and direct violence would hardlier have beene obtained. Then the common people deſperate upon new deſires, and without head, head-long to matters of innovation, flocked very faſt to theſe Noble men, the better ſort for love to the Commonwealth, ſome upon a wanton levity, and vaine deſire of change, others in regard of their owne diſtreſſed and decayed eſtate, who ſetting their chiefe hopes and devices upon a gene-

generall diſturbance, were then moſt ſafe when the common ſtate was moſt unſure. So betweene the one and the other, the multitude did in ſhort time increaſe to the number of threeſcore thouſand able ſouldiers.

The Duke finding this favour not onely to exceed his expectation, but even above his wiſh, hee thought it beſt to follow the current whilſt the ſtreame was moſt ſtrong, knowing right well, that if fortune be followed, as the firſt doe fall out, the reſt will commonly ſucceed. Therefore cutting off unneceſſary delayes, with all poſſible celerity hee haſtned towards *London*: to the end that poſſeſſing himſelfe thereof as the chiefe place within the Realme, both for ſtrength and ſtore, hee might there make the ſeat of the warre. In this journey no ſigne nor ſhew of hoſtility appeared, but all the way as hee paſſed, the men of chiefeſt quality and power adjoyned themſelves unto him, ſome upon heat of affection,

ſome

ſome for feare, others upon hope of reward after victory; every one upon cauſes diſlike; with like ardent deſire contending, leaſt any ſhould ſeeme more forward then they: In every place alſo where hee made ſtay, rich gifts and pleaſant deviſes were preſented unto him, with large ſupply both of force and proviſion, farre above his need: and the Common people which for their greatneſſe take no care of publique affaires, and are in leaſt danger by reaſon of their baſeneſſe, with ſhouts and acclamations gave their applauſe: extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and ſaluting him King; but ſpending many contumelious termes upon King *Richard*, and depraving him as a ſimple and ſluggiſh man, a daſtard, a meycock, and one altogether unworthy to beare rule; ſhewing themſelves as much without reaſon in railing upon the one, as they were in flattering the other. Againe, the Duke for his part was not negligent to uncover the head, to

bow

bow the body, to ſtretch forth the hand to every meane perſon, and to uſe all other complements of popular behaviour: wherewith the minds of the common multitude are much delighted and drawen; taking that to be courteſie, which the ſeverer ſort account abaſement. When he came to the Citie, hee was there likewiſe very richly and royally entertained, with proceſſions and pageants, and vers other triumphant deviſes and ſhewes: the ſtanding in all the ſtreets where hee paſſed, were taken up to behold him; and the unable multitude, who otherwiſe could not, yet by their good words, wiſhes, and wils, did teſtifie unto him their loving affections: neither did there appeare in any man at that time, any memory of faith and allegiance towards King *Richard*, but as (in ſeditions it alwayes hapneth) as the moſt ſwayed all did goe.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of *Yorke* with the reſt of his counſaile, fell to muſtering of men at S. *Albones*

for the King: but as the people out of divers quarters were called thither, many of them proteſted, that they would doe nothing to the harme and prejudice of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who they ſaid was unjuſtly expelled, firſt from his countrey, and afterwards from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroupe* Earle of Wiltſhire, Lord Treaſurer, S. *J. Buſh*, Sir *W. Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, perceiving the ſtiffe reſolution of the people, forſooke the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Lord Chancellor, and fled towards *Briſtow*; intending to paſſe the ſeas into *Ireland* to the King. Theſe foure were they upon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the King his Realme to farme: who were ſo odious unto the people, that their preſence turned away the hearts of many ſubjects; yea it was thought that more for diſpleaſure againſt them, then againſt the King, the revolt was made. For being the only men of credit and authority with the King, under falſe colour

lour of obedience, they wholly governed both the Realme and him; to many miſchiefes corrupting his mind, and in many abuſing his name, either againſt his will, or without his knowledge, inſomuch as hee was innocent of much harme which paſſed under his commandement: but the patience of the people could not endure that two or three ſhould rule all: not by reaſon they were ſufficient, but becauſe they were in favour: and the King in that he permitted them whom hee might have bridled, or was ignorant of that which he ſhould have knowne, by tollerating and wincking at their faults, made them his owne, and opened thereby the way to his deſtruction. So often times it falleth out to be as dangerous to a Prince to have hurtfull and hatefull officers in place and ſervices of weight, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himſelfe.

The Duke of *Yorke* either amazed at this ſudden change, or fearing his adventure if hee ſhould proceed in

reſiſtance, gave over the cauſe, and preferred preſent ſecurity, before duty with danger; giving moſt men occaſion to miſdeeme by his dealing, that hee ſecretly favoured the Dukes Enterpriſe, likewiſe all the other Counſellors of that ſide, either openly declared for the Duke, or ſecretly wiſhed him well: and abandoning all private direction & adviſe, adjoyned themſelves to the common courſe, preſuming thereby of greater ſafety.

Duke *Henry* in the meane time being at *London*, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were beſt to be followed. At the laſt; having conſidered the forwardneſſe of the people, the greatneſſe of the perill whereinto they had already plunged, and the Kings irreconcilable nature, whereof hee made proofe againſt the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*: they finally reſolved to expell him from his dignity, and to conſtitute Duke *Henry* King in his ſtead: and to that end open warre was denounced againſt

againſt the King, & againſt all his partakers, as enemies, to the quiet & proſperity of the Realme; and pardon alſo promiſed to all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelves to follow the preſent courſe, otherwiſe to looke for no favour, but all extremities. None of the Nobility durſt openly oppoſe himſelfe to theſe deſignes: ſome unwilling to play all their ſtate at a caſt, kept themſelves at liberty, to be directed by ſucceſſe of further event: others conſented coldly, and in tearms of doubtfull conſtruction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occaſion ſhould change: but the moſt part did directly and reſolutely enter into the cauſe, and made their fortunes common with the Duke, in danger of the attempt, but not in honour: among whom, the Duke ſtanding up, uſed ſpeech to this purpoſe.

I am returned here as you ſee, at your procurement, & by your agreement have entred into armes for the common liberty: wee have hitherto proſperouſly proceeded, but in

what tearmes wee now ſtand, I am altogether uncertaine. A private man I am loath to be accounted, being deſigned to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be eſteemed, whilſt another is in poſſeſſion of the Kingdome. Alſo your name is in ſuſpence, whether to be termed rebels or ſubjects, untill you have made manifeſt that your alleageance was bound rather to the ſtate of the Realme then the perſon of the Prince. Now you are the men who have both cauſed this doubtfulneſſe and muſt cleare the ſame; your parts ſtill remaineth to be performed; your vertue and valour muſt adde ſtrength to the goodneſſe of this action. Wee have already attempted ſo farre, that all hope of pardon is extinct; ſo that if we ſhould ſhrinke back, and break off the enterpriſe, no mercy is to bee expected, but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if we drive off and delay the accompliſhment therof, wee ſhall looſe the opportunity which now is offered, and open to

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our enemies occaſion of advantage: For the peoples blood is up now on our ſide, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence and care: let us not therefore trifle out the time of doing, in talking and deliberating: it is beſt ſtriking whilſt the iron is hot: let us ſet forth roundly, and poſſeſſe our ſelves with ſpeed of all the parts of the Realme: and ſo we ſhall be able either to keepe out our concurrent, or elſe to entertaine him little to his liking. So troops of men were ſent into every quarter of the Realme, to ſecure them for making ſtrength on the part of King *Richard:* but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did eaſily entertaine the firſt Commer, and were not curious to ſide with the ſtronger. The Duke purſued thoſe of the Kings Privie Councell, which fled away from the Duke of Yorke; bearing himſelfe with great cheare and courage, as confident in the cauſe, and ſecure of the event. When he came at *Bri-*

ſtow hee found the Caſtle fortified againſt him; but in ſhort time hee forced it, and tooke therein Sir *Iohn Buſhy*, Sir *Henry Greene*, and *W. Scroupe, L. Treaſurer*, a joyfull prey to the common people: who (fearing that if execution ſhould be deferred, Petitions for pardon might happen to prevaile, and ſo their cruelties and injuries ſhould be anſwered with the vaine title and commendation of clemency) did violently require them unto death, no reſpite could be obtained, no defence admitted, no anſwer heard: yea their humble and ſubmiſſe intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake and broken courage upon a guilty conſcience, which more incenſed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traytors, blood-ſuckers, theeves, and what other hainous tearmes inſulting fury did put into their mouthes: at which clamorous and importunant inſtance, the day following they were beheaded, Sir *William Bagot* came not with them to *Briſtow*, but turned

turned to *Chester*: and the purſuit being made after the moſt, hee alone eſcaped into *Ireland*. This execution, partly becauſe it pleaſed the people, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, cauſed them to cleave more cloſely to the Duke; which greatly increaſed both his glory, and his hope: having offers of ſo large aid & need of ſo little.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arrivall, and of other occurrences, part true, part falſe, & part enlarged by circumſtance, (as fame groweth in the going) was blowne over to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in *Ireland*, at the receipt whereof, he cauſed the ſonnes of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, & of the Duke of *Lancaſter* to be impriſoned in the ſtrong Caſtle of *Trim*, which is in *Ireland*; and for diſpatch to returne into *England*, left many matters unfiniſhed, & moſt of his proviſion behind, haſting and ſhuffling up; as preſent neceſſity did enforce. So being both unskilfull

and unfortunate himſelfe, and devoid of good direction; with more haſte then good hap, hee tooke ſhipping, with the Duke of *Aumerle*, *Exceter*, and *Surry*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincolne*, and *Caerliele*, and many other men of quality: and croſſing the ſeas, landed at *Milford-Haven* in Wales, in which countrimen he alwayes repoſed his chiefeſt ſurety and truſt, but then he ſaw contrary to his expectation, that as well there as in all other places, the people by plumps flocked to the Duke, & fled from him: yea they that came with him began for to waver, no man encouraging them to be conſtant, but many to revolt. This ſuddaine change not looked for, not thought upon, diſturbed all the Kings deviſes, & made him irreſolute what he ſhould doe: on the one ſide hee ſaw his cauſe and quarrell to be right, and his conſcience (he ſaid) cleare from any bad demerite: on the other ſide he ſaw the great ſtrength of his enemies, and the whole power

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of the Realme bent againſt him: and being more abaſhed by the one, then emboldned by the other, hee ſtood perplexed in uncertaine termes, either where to ſtay, or whither to ſtir, having neither skill nor reſolution himſelfe in caſes of difficulty, and obnoxious to hurtfull and unfaithfull counſaile. Some adviſed him to martch forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his own forces fell from him: affirming that valour is ſeconded by fortune: that this courage of his, would confirme the conſtancy of his ſouldiers: and his preſence put the people in remembrance of their faith, that in all places he ſhould find ſome, who for favour, or for hire, or elſe for duty, would adhere unto him: whereby hee ſhould ſoone gather ſtrength ſufficient to joyne iſſue with his enemy in the field. Others perſwaded him to retire againe into *Ireland*, and then if ſuccour failed him in *England*, to wage ſouldiers out of other countries. But the King being

being no man of action in military affaires, rejected both the counsailes, as neither venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle course (which in cases of extremity of all is the worst) hee determined to make stay in *Wales*, and there to attend to what head this humour would rise.

The Duke upon advertisement that the King was landed in *Wales*, removed with a strong Army from *Bristow* towards *Chester*, using the first opportunity against him, and which indeed was the fittest. When Lord *Thomas Pearcy* Earle of *Worcester*, and Steward of the Kings Houshold, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into shew of that displeasure, which before he had conceived against the King, for proclaiming his brother, the Earle of *Northumberland* traytor, and thereupon openly in the Hall, in the presence of the Kings servants, he brake his white rod, the ensigne of his office,

fice, and forthwith departed to the Duke, willing every man to ſhift for himſelfe in time: by which act hee loſt reputation, both with the Haters and Favourers of King *Richard*; being accounted of the one a Corrupter, of the other a Forſaker, and betrayer of the King. After this example, almoſt all the reſt, more feareſull then faithfull, ſcattered themſelves every one his way: and they who in the Kings flouriſhing time, would have contended to be formoſt, now in his declining eſtate equally draw backe, and like ſwallowes, forſooke that houſe in the winter of fortunes boyſterous blaſts, where they did nothing but feed and foyle in the ſummer of her ſweet ſun-ſhine. And thus betweene faint ſouldiers, and falſe friends, the King was abandoned and forſaken, and left almoſt unto himſelfe: looke on he might, but let it, hee could not, as not of force to puniſh that, which hee never forced to prevent: his only remedy was patience: (a cold comfort)

his

his onely revenge was complaint: (a weake weapon) betweene which two, his bitterneſſe did in this manner breake from him.

And doe theſe alſo (ſaid he) forſake me? doth their faith and my fortune end together? well, if I had forſaken them in time, I had not been forſaken of others, who once loved me better, and now are able to harme me more. But now I ſee the blindneſſe of my judgement: I plainely ſee, that there is no friendſhip in flattery, nor treachery in plaine truth: and I would I had as much time to reforme this error: as I am like to have to repent it, but they would not ſuffer mee to bee wiſe when I might, and now they have made me wretched they runne from me: they could be the cauſes, but they will not be companions of my miſeries: ſuch attendants are Crowes to a carcaſſe, which flocke together, not to defend, but to devoure it, and no ſooner have they laid the bones bare, but ſtraight-wayes they are gone.

Thus

Thus the King having loſt both the feare and love of his ſubjects, diſturbed and diſtracted in thoughts, without comfort, councell, or courage, remained ſtill in *Wales*, as a ſtranger at home, as an exile in his owne Kingdome, not daring to goe to *London*, nor any man deſirous to come to him, ſhifting ſtill from place to place, and (as it fals out to men diſtreſſed and amazed) fearing all things, but moſt diſliking the preſent. The Duke continually purſued him with a mighty Army: but the Kings company was too ſmall to do any thing by force, and yet too great to remaine in ſecret: neither were they in any ſort aſſured unto him, but ſuch as ſhame and reverence retained a while; bands of ſmall countenance with men fearefull of danger, and careleſſe of credit. At the length he came to the Caſtle of *Conweye*; and there being utterly deſtitute both of helpe and hope, he ſtood divided in mind what way to bend his courſe, all his followers were more ready

ready to impugne the opinions of other, then to give direction themselves, as seeing better what to shun then what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in desperate causes, that way was commonly preferred, whereof the opportunity was already past. Some advised him that it was then time to think, rather of saving his life, then recovering his estate. You see (said they) how greatly, and how wholly your subjects are set against you: it is but in vaine to look for a suddain change, or without a change to hope that your purposes may prevail, give place for a time to the current of this fury: let it have the full sway; and when it is at the highest pitch, it will turne againe; and then you shall have the tide as strong on your side, as it is now against you. This motion or rather commotion of the people, is violent and against nature: and therefore (as a stone forced upward) is most strong at the beginning, and the further it passeth, the more it weakneth, untill at last it returne to the naturall

turall courſe againe. Therefore give a little ſpace for the bad to draw back, for the good to put forward: treaſons prevaile on the ſuddaine, but good counſailes gather forces by leaſure. You have example in your noble Progenitor, King *Henry* the third, againſt whom the Lords ſet up *Lewis* the French Kings ſon: conditions were concluded, and faith was made that he ſhould be their King; but this purpoſe laſted not the pulling on: for before they had poſſeſſed him of the kingdome, they joyned together in armes againſt him, and were as fierce to drive him out of the Realme, as they had beene found to draw him in. The like alteration may you likewiſe not only hope, but aſſuredly expect: for the minds of men are conſtant in nothing but inconſtancy, & perſevere only in change, in diſlike of things preſent they deſire new, wherwith they reſt not long contented, but are many times glutted even with the firſt ſight. And indeed how can they long endure the Raigne of him, who

who attayning the Kingdome onely by their favour and might, ſhall hold the ſame in a manner, at their courteſie and will? for every unpleaſant command, ſhall be deemed ingratitude: every ſuit rejected, ſhall charge him with unkindneſſe; Yea, if honour be not offered, they will be diſcontented: and upon any occaſion of diſpleaſure, thinke themſelves as able to diſplace him, as they were to ſet him up: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into *Ireland*; or elſe paſſe the ſeas to your Father in law, the King of *France*: you may aſſure your ſelfe of his aſſiſtance, to ſet upon your ſide, and recover your loſſes. Times have their turnes, and fortune her courſe too and fro like the ſea, and magnanimity is ſhewne by enduring, and not relinquiſhing, when ſhe doth croſſe, only looſe no point of courage, and keepe your perſon at large: reſerving your ſelfe to that good hope, which never dyeth whilſt life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all coun-

counſaile, whereof themſelves were not Authors, perſwaded the King, that the Nobility and Commons of the Realm had attempted ſo far, that they would rather dye, then deſiſt; not ſo much for hatred to you, as for feare to themſelves; having ſo deadly incenſed your diſpleaſure againſt them. For it is a hard matter to forgive, and impoſſible to forget thoſe injuries and indignities which they have offered. And to omit what ſome Princes have done, what all will promiſe to doe, they will ſoone find freſh and bleeding examples what you are like to doe. The Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earle of *Arundell*, and of *Warwicke* did riſe in armes againſt you, not to remove you from your Crowne: but to remove certaine perſons from your company, an action more diſpleaſing then prejudiciall unto you: at the laſt, a friendſhip was made, and charters of free pardon granted unto them: but what followed? was ever the breach perfectly made up?

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did displeasure dye? or was it only dissembled? ah, it grieveth us to thinke, how the present want of their lives, hath fully revenged their deaths: for if they had lived, their countenance and authority would easily have stayed these stirs; and the manner of their deaths doth strike an obstinate persistance into all your enemies. As for refuge to forraine Princes, you shall surely receive of them entertainment and allowance, and yet may grow burdensome, and at last perhaps faile: but it is very hard to draw any Prince into so dangerous a quarrell: and more hard by that meanes to prevaile: or if you should, it is to be feared that the victorers will hold to themselves the benefit of their conquest, and not yeeld it over unto you. Few countries but have beene under pretence of ayde by forrainers subdued: and this was the onely cause which first drew the Saxons into this land: who so assisted the Britaines against their enemies, that themselves could not be re-

reſiſted from poſſeſſing their kingdome. Yet we do not altogether condemne the helpe of ſtrangers, in caſes of extremitie; but doe account it a remedy, leaſt to be truſted, and laſt of all to be tryed. What then if firſt you ſhould procure a treaty, to ſee in what termes the people ſtand againſt you? It may be that upon ſome conditions they will ſubmit themſelves unto you, as heretofore they have done. Or if they will needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may be aſſured, what ſhall you loſe therby? What ſhall you lack? You have no child to be diſinherited; the chiefeſt motive which maketh men ſo greedy to get, and ſo carefull to keepe. And as for your ſelfe, you ſhall bee removed from a ſteep and ſlippery hill to a ſmooth and pleaſant plain; from tempeſtuous ſeas to a calme haven; from dangerous travaile to ſecure reſt, & if there be no ſolace without ſafety, no felicity without firmneſſe; you ſhall find the private life not onely more

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ſweet, but more high and happy, then your princely ſtate. The talleſt trees are weakeſt in the tops; in wideſt fields are greateſt tempeſts; and envy alwayes aimeth at loftieſt marks: ſo that to be placed on high, is a falſe felicity, and a true miſery in ſhew a rule, but indeed a ſubjection to all the ſubjects; having leaſt ſtay to ſtand, and moſt danger in the fall: and therefore if you come downe ſafely, you are therein priviledged above many other. But you ſhall loſe (you will ſay) the credit and the countenance of a King: ſo you ſhall the cares; and ſo you ſhall the caſualties. The Crowne and Scepter are things moſt weighty to weld: if a Prince be good, he is laden with labour, if evill, with infamy and reproach; if either, with perils: on every ſide hee is beſet with dangerous Rocks, with deadly Gulfes, and continually toſſed with ſtrong and ſturdy tempeſts: ſo that to be freed from theſe feares, is to be eſteemed an eſcape, and not a loſſe. This did

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the Stoick Philoſopher perceive, who ſeeing *Dionyſius* ſit merily and freely conceited in the Theater, being a little before expelled his Kingdome; greatly condemned the error of his people, who had baniſhed him to ſuch liberty, and ſo preferred him by his puniſhment. Theſe are the dreams of Philoſophers (you will ſay) who uſually deprave and contemne honour, and yet never lie from honourable mens tables. Let paſſe then Philoſophers: go to vaine and ſottiſh men. *Seleuchus* being a King, was wont to ſay, that if a man knew with what cares the Diadem was clogged, hee would not take it up, although it lay in the ſtreet. You will ſay peradventure, that like the Boat-man, hee looked one way, and pulled another; or like the Lapwing, he cryed moſt when hee was furtheſt from his Neſt, vainely diſpraying that which hee was loatheſt to looſe. What ſay you then to *Antiochus*? whom when the *Romans* had diſpoyled him of all *Aſia*; he ſent unto them great thanks,

thankes, that they had rid him of infinit and importable cares, and set him at a moderate quiet: you will say that hee made a vertue of his necessity. Well then, wee are somewhat neere your case: and they that cannot frame their wils to this wisdome, let them thanke their enemies for enforcing them to it. But what say you to *Diocletian?* who did voluntarily relinquish, not a small and corner Kingdome, but the greatest Empire that the world did ever beare, and found so sweet contentment in that exchange, that when hee was importuned by the Senate, to resume his estate, hee utterly rejected their suite. But what need we travell in externe Histories for those examples, whereof wee have so large supply in our own? the ancient Saxon Kings: *Kingilsus*, *Ina*, *Ceolulphus*, *Fadbertus*, *Ethelredus*, *Kenredus*, *Offa*, *Sebbi*, and *Sigebertus* did of their owne accord lay downe their Diadems and Scepters, and betake themselvs to solitary & religious lives. Now many Princes have held

held their eſtate with better fortune, but none did ever with greater honour leave it, then you ſhould at this preſent: for others have abandoned their rule, either for deſire of eaſe, or for avoidance of dangers, or upon ſome ſluggiſh or ſuperſtitious devotion: but you for love to your Countrey, ſhall forbeare to ſeeke your uttermoſt remedy, in ſetting up a moſt cruell warre: wherein much *Engliſh* bloud ſhould bee ſpilt, and the Realme deprived of many worthy armies. Let others bee reported to forſake their Kingdomes, when they had no longer pleaſure to hold them: but your praiſe ſhall bee for giving over, when it is greateſt benefit unto the people; and the more hope you have to prevaile, if you liſt to contend, the greater commendations will it bee to yeeld, as being rather voluntary then by conſtraint.

The King commended the courage of the firſt, but this laſt Counſell beſt agreed with his faint and feeble

Spirit, more yeelding to feare then forward in hope; apt by the one to deſpaire, unable by the other to hold out in any hard adventure, preferring alwayes abject and baſe ſafety, before hazard with honour. Yet were many ready to reply, that all ſpeech of conditions and yeelding was both diſhonourable, and alſo dangerous: for even in hardeſt haps, ſaid they, a Noble nature will not preſently relinquiſh; but firſt endeavour either by courage to repell the danger, or by wiſedome to decline it: and why ſhould you ſo little eſteeme your glory and fame, as without battell, or blow ſtriken to bind your hands, and yeeld up your weapons, and put your ſelfe upon miſerable mercy: or if the honour of your Noble houſe doth nothing move you, yet let danger and deſpaire at leaſt arme you to boldneſſe; for neither the Duke nor his friends will bee ſo confident as to thinke themſelves ſafe, ſo long as you ſhall remaine (although in private ſtate) alive. Indeed

deed you may assure your selfe that faire words will bee given, and large offers made: but the performance shall consist in the courtesie of the Conquerour: and nothing will bee thought unlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the second was too heavy to bee indured, even of his owne Sonne: and many have used violence to themselves, rather then they would fall into the power of their concurrents: and doe not you expect more favour or greater fortune then other have found: let never that senselessnesse possesse your mind, to imagine that a Prince may live safely in private estate: for in this case there is no meane betweene *Cæsar*, and nothing betweene the highest honour & the deadliest downefall. Therefore omit neither all, nor any one meanes unassayed, to maintaine your side by armes: no greater harme can happen at the hardest, then that which willingly you runne into: you can but die if you bee vanquished, and die you shall if you doe yeeld: but by the

one you ſhall end your life with glory, by the other with ſhame and perpetuall reproach. And although you doe now eſteeme equally of both, yet when you ſhall ſee your ſelfe pent in priſon; in dayly feare and expectancy of a bloudy Meſſenger; you ſhall then perceive a difference in death, and find the weakeneſſe and fault of the Councell which you are about to follow. Many like ſpeeches were with great vehemency often repeated, but the Kings eares were ſtopped againſt all impreſſion of manhood: and as hee was unable to governe himſelfe in his proſperous eſtate, ſo was hee much leſſe ſufficient to wind out of theſe intricate troubles. Therefore perceiving himſelfe ſo ſtraitly beſet, that hee could hardly either eſcape away, or ſhift any longer, hee deſired ſpeech with *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord *Henry Pearcy* Earle of *Northumberland*, of whom, the one hee had banished, the other hee had proclaimed Traytour not long

long before. Theſe two came unto him, and the King upon ſhort conference, underſtanding what ſtiffe ſtomacks they bare againſt him, was content not to demand that which hee ſaw hee could not obtaine: and thereupon agreed that hee would relinquiſh his eſtate, upon condition that an honourable living might be aſſigned him, and life promiſed to eight ſuch perſons as hee would name: the greateſt number whom adverſity did not alter. This was then both readily and faithfully promiſed by the Archbiſhop and the Earle, and afterward ſolemnely ratified by the Duke. The King ceaſed not to entreat ſubmiſly, and promiſe largely, and (as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) above his ability, and without meaſure, the Earle encouraged him, and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any aid, ſecured by his oath the ſafety of the Kings perſon. Then the King deſired to talke with the Duke, which was likewiſe promiſed; and ſo the

Archbiſhop and the Earle departed, and the King removed to the Caſtle of *Flint* about eight miles diſtant from *Cheſter*, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the countenances and words of both were noted, by them that were preſent; the King ſeemed abject and baſe: the Duke neither inſulting nor relenting, but comforting and promiſing friendly. The King repeated many benefits and kindneſſes that hee had ſhewed: how in former time hee had ſpared the Dukes owne life, and lately his Sonnes: in regard whereof he deſired him, with ſuch ſubmiſnes as was agreable rather with his neceſſity then his honour: that hee would ſhew ſome pitty where hee had received ſuch pleaſure: and permit him to enjoy his life, with ſuch private maintenance as was convenient for his eſtate. The Duke put him in good comfort, promiſing him aſſuredly, that he would provide for his ſafety: for which hee ſuffered himſelfe to be ſolemnly thanked, and thought it not

not much to have it accounted a great benefit. Indeed from that time the King was kept ſafe and ſure enough, from binding any of the Dukes purpoſes, neither could it ſo eaſily have beene diſcerned what had beene beſt for him to doe, as that this which he did was the very worſt: for the ſame night he was brought by the Duke & his army to *Cheſter*, and from thence ſecretly conveyed to the Tower of *London*, there to be kept ſafe untill the Parliament, which was appointed ſhortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yeelded himſelfe: the 20. day of *Auguſt*, being the 47. day after the Dukes arrivall: ſo that his journeyes conſidered, from *Houlderneſſe* in the *North* to *London*: from thence to *Briſtow*, and ſo into *Wales*, and back againe to *Cheſter*: a man ſhall not eaſily travaile over the land in ſhorter time then he conquered it. So friendly was fortune unto him, that he either found or made a ready paſſage through all hinderances and lets: and it ſeemed that hee needed

onely, to open his armes, to meet and receive her, as ſhee offered her ſelfe unto him. All the Kings treaſure and Iewels, with his horſes, and all his fardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his company, were afterwards alſo deſpoiled by the ſouldiers of *Northumberland* and *Wales*.

Some Writers affirme, that the King did not yeeld himſelfe, but was forelaid and taken, as he was ſecretly paſſing from *Flint* to *Cheſter*: but the authority of others who lived in that time, either in the plain view, or certaine intelligence of theſe affaires, who for their place could not but know, & for their profeſſion would not but deliver the very truth, hath drawne mee to follow their report: which I find alſo received by ſome late Writers, of as great deapth in judgement and choyce, as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carried towards *London*, certaine Citizens conſpired to lay themſelves in a wait by the way

way, and ſodainly to ſlay him; partly, for private grievances, and partly, for the cruelty that he had uſed towards the whole City: but the Major upon intelligence prevented the practice, & rod forth in perſon with a convenient company, to conduct him ſafely unto the Tower. Shortly after the Duke came to *London* in ſolemne eſtate, and ſent forth ſummons in the Kings name, for a Parliament to bee holden at *Weſtminſter*, the laſt day of *September*, in the ſame yeare: in the meane time he deliberated with his kindred, & kind friends, concerning the order of his proceedings. The Duke of *Yorke* (who a little before had beene Governour of the Realme for the King, & then was the chiefeſt Directour of the Duke) thought it beſt that King *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily reſigne, and alſo ſolemnely be depoſed, by conſent of all the States of the Realme: for reſignation onely would be imputed to feare, and deprivation to force; whereof the one is alwayes pitied, & the other envied

vied: but if both concurre, and his desire be combined with his desert, being willing to forsake that which he is adjudged worthy to forgoe, then shall it appeare, that he neither is expelled his Kingdome by meere constraint, nor leaveth it without just cause. This advice pleased the rest, and for executing thereof upon the day of S. *Michael* (which was the day before the Parliament should begin) there assembled at the Tower, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Scroupe* Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Iohn* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Radulph* Earle of *Westmerland*, Lord *Hugh Burnel*, Lord *Thomas Barkly*, Lord *Rose*, Lord *Willoughby*, Lord *Abergeiny*; The Abbot of *Westminster*, the Priour of *Canterbury*, *William Thirminges*, and *Iohn Markeham* Chiefe Iustices, *Thomas Stoke*, and *Iohn Burbach*, Doctours of Law, *Thomas Herpingham*, and *Thomas Gray* Knights, *William Fenby*, and *Dionise Lopham* publike Notaries, and divers others

others either not noted, or not remembred. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought forth, apparelled in his Royall robe, the diademe on his head, & the Scepter in his hand; and was placed amongst them in a Chaire of estate. Never was Prince so gorgeous, with lesse glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a King, but hee must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and deliver the other. After a little pause and expectation, the King arose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or the very like in effect.

I assure my self that some at this present, & many hereafter, will accompt my case lamentable; either that I have deserved this dejection, if it be just; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not avoid it. Indeed I do confes that many times I have shewed my selfe both lesse provident & lesse painful for the benefit of the Common-wealth, then

I should,

I ſhould, or might; or intended to doe hereafter; and have in many actions more reſpected the ſatisfying of my owne particular humour, then either juſtice to ſome private perſons, or the common good of all, yet I did not at any time either omit duty or commit grievance, upon naturall dulnes or ſet malice; but partly, by abuſe of corrupt Counſellors, partly, by errour of my youthfull judgement. And now, the remembrance of theſe overſights, is ſo unpleaſant to no man, as to my ſelfe; and the rather becauſe I have no meanes left, either to recompence the injuries which I have done, or to teſtifie to the World my reformed affections, which experience and ſtayednesſe of yeares had already corrected, and would dayly have framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations, wherewith I am charged be true, either in ſubſtance, or in ſuch quality as they are laid, or whether being true, they be ſo heinous, as to inforce theſe extremities, or whether any other Prince, eſpe-

eſpecially in the heate of youth, and in the ſpace of two and twenty yeares (the time of my unfortunate raigne) doth, not ſometimes either for advantage, or upon diſpleaſure, in as deepe manner grieve ſome particular ſubject; I will not now examine: it helpeth not to uſe defence, neither booteth it to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pitty for the other: and therefore I referre it to the judgement of God, and your leſſe diſtempered conſiderations.

I accuſe no man, I blame no fortune, I complaine of nothing: I have no pleaſure in ſuch vaine and needleſſe comforts; and if I liſted to have ſtood upon termes, I know I have great favourers abroad; and ſome friends (I hope) at home, who would have beene ready, yea forward on my behalfe, to ſet up a bloudy and doubtfull warre: but I eſteeme not my dignity at ſo high a prize, at the hazard of ſo great value, the ſpilling of ſo much *Engliſh* bloud, and the ſpoile & waſt of ſo flouriſhing a Realme, as thereby

thereby might have beene occaſioned. Therefore that the Commonwealth may rather riſe by my fall, then I ſtand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your deſires, and am heere come to diſpoſſeſſe my ſelfe to all publike authority and title, and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* my Couſin *Germaine*, whom I know to be as worthy to take that place, as I ſee you willing to give it to him.

Then he read openly and diſtinctly the forme of his ceſſion, wherein he did declare, that he had diſcharged his ſubjects, from their oaths of fealty and homage, & all other oaths whatſoever; and of his owne will and free motion, did abdicate the title dignity, and authority of a King: and rendred up the poſſeſſion of the Realm, with the uſe and title thereof, and all the rights thereunto appertaining. To this the King ſubſcribed and was ſworne: and then he delivered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Scepter,

Scepter, and the Robe to the Duke of *Lancaſter*; wiſhing unto him more happineſſe therewith, then had ever happened unto himſelfe. Then he did conſtitute the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Biſhop of *Hereford* his Procuratours, to intimate and declare this his reſignation to all the States of the Realme, which ſhould be aſſembled together in Parliament. Laſtly hee gave all his riches and goods, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſand pounds in coine, beſides his Iewels and plate, for ſatiſfaction of the injuries that hee had done, deſiring the Duke, and all the reſt that were preſent ſeverally by their names, not altogether to forget that he had beene their King, nor yet too much to thinke upon the ſame; but to retaine of him a moderate remembrance; and in recompence of the eaſe that he had done them by his voluntary yeelding, to permit him to live ſafely, in a private and obſcure life: with the ſweetneſſe whereof he was ſo poſſeſſed, that from thence-

forth

forth he would preferre it, before any preferment in the World. All this was delivered and done by the King, with voyce and countenance so agreeable to his present heavineſſe, that there was no man too unmindefull of humane inſtability which was not in ſome meaſure moved thereat: in ſo much as a few ſecret teares melted from the eyes of many that were preſent, in whoſe minds a confuſed and obſcure alteration gan to begin. So prone and inclinable are men to pitty miſery, although they have procured it, and to envy proſpery, even that which they have raiſed.

Vpon Munday next following, the Parliament beganne at *Weſtminſter*; and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* and the Biſhop of *Hereford* (the Kings Atturnies for this purpoſe) declared openly to the States there aſſembled, the Kings voluntary reſignation; and demanded whether they would aſſent and agree thereunto? the Barons of the Realme by ſeverall and particular conſent, the Commons with

one

one generall voice, did expreſly accept and admit the ſame. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and miſdemeanures concerning matters of government, ſhould bee objected againſt the King: for which he ſhould be adjudged as unworthy, as hee ſeemed unwilling to retaine the Kingdome. To this purpoſe certaine articles were engroſſed, and openly read: in which was contained, how unprofitable the King had beene to the Realme; how unjuſt and grievous to the Subjects: contrary both to his honour, and to his oath. The chiefeſt of which Articles are theſe that follow.

1 FIrſt, that King *Richard* did waſtfully ſpend the Treſure of the Realme, and had given the poſſeſſion of the Crowne, to men unworthy, by reaſon whereof, new charges were dayly laid on the necks of the poore Comminalty.

2 Item, Where divers Lords as well Spirituall as Temporall, were

were appointed by the High Court of Parliament, to commune and treat of matters concerning the State of the Realme, and the Commonwealth of the ſame, they being buſied about the ſame commiſſion he with with others of his affinity went about to impeach them of treaſon.

3 Item, that by force and menace, hee compelled the Juſtices of the Realme at *Shrewsbury* to condiſcend to his opinion for the deſtruction of the ſaid Lords: Inſomuch as he beganne to raiſe warre, againſt *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Thomas* Earle of *Arundel*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwick*, and other Lords contrary to his honour and promiſe.

4 Item, that he cauſed his Vncle the Duke of *Glocester*, to be arreſted without law, and ſent him to *Calis*, and there without judgement murthered him: and although the Earle of *Arundel* upon his arraignement, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not bee heard, but was in moſt

moſt vile and ſhamefull manner ſodainly put to death.

5 Item, he aſſembled certaine *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* men, to the intent to make warre on the aforeſaid Lords, and ſuffered them to robbe and ſpoile, without correction and reproofe.

6 Item, that although the King flatteringly and with great diſſimulation, made proclamation throughout the Realme, that the Lords aforenamed were not attached for any crime of treaſon, but onely for extortions and oppreſſions done within the Realme, yet hee laid to them in the Parliament rebellion with manifeſt treaſon.

7 Item, hee hath compelled divers of the ſaid Lords ſervants by menace, to make great fines and extreme payments, to their utter undoing: and notwithſtanding his pardon to them granted, he made them fine a new.

8 Item, where divers were appointed

ted to commune of the eſtate of the Realme, and the Common-wealth of the ſame, the King cauſed all the roules and records to bee kept from them, contrary to his promiſe made in Parliament, to his open diſhonour.

9 Item, hee uncharitably commanded that no man upon paine of loſſe of life and goods, ſhould once intreat him for the returne of *Henry*, now Duke of *Lancaſter*.

10 Item, where the Realme is houlden of God, and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the ſaid King *Richard*, after hee had obtained divers acts of Parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then hee procured Bulles and extreame cenſures from *Rome* to compell all men ſtreightly to keepe the ſame, contrary to the honour and ancient priviledges of this Realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of *Lancaſter* had done his devoire againſt *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, in

proofe

proofe of his quarrell, yet the ſaid King without reaſon or ground, baniſhed him the Realme for tenne yeares, contrary to all equity.

12 Item, before the Dukes departure, hee under his broad Seale, licenſed him to make Atturneyes, to proſecute and defend his cauſes: the ſaid King after his departure, would ſuffer none Atturney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleaſure.

13 Item, the ſaid King put out divers Sheriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes divers others of his owne minions, ſubverting the law, contrary to his oath and honour.

14 Item, hee borrowed great ſummes of money, and bound himſelfe under his Letters patents for the repayment of the ſame, and yet not one penny paid.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him, and his unhappy Counſaile, and the ſame Treaſure ſpent in folly,

not

not paying poore men for their vittaile and viand.

16 Item, he ſaid that the lawes of the Realme were in his head, and ſometimes in his breaſt: by reaſon of which phantaſticall opinion, hee deſtroyed Noble men, and impoveriſhed the poore Commons.

17 Item, the Parliament ſetting and enacting divers notable Statutes, for the profit and advancement of the Common wealth, he by his privy friends and ſolicitours, cauſed to bee enacted, that no act then enacted ſhould bee more prejudiciall to him then it was to his Predeceſſours: thorow which *proviſe*, he did often as hee liſt, and not as the law meant.

18 Item, for to ſerve his purpoſe, he would ſuffer the Sheriffes of the Shires, to remaine above one yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, at the ſummons of Parliament, when the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould bee elected, and the elec-

election had fully proceeded, hee put out divers perſons elected and put in others in their places, to ſerve his will and appetite.

20 Item, hee had privy eſpials in every Shire, to heare who had of him any communication, and if hee communed of his laſcivious living, and outragious doing, hee ſtraightwayes was apprehended and made a grievous fine.

21 Item, the Spiritualty alledged againſt him, that hee at his going into *Ireland*, exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſide Plate and Iewels, without law or cuſtome, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation.

22 Item, when divers Lords and Iuſtices were ſworne to ſay the truth, of divers things to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the Realme and profit of the King, the ſaid King ſo menaced them with ſore threatnings, that no man would or durſt ſay the right.

23 Item,

23 Item, that without the assent of the Nobility, he carried the Iewels and Plate, and Treasure, over the Sea into *Ireland*, to the great impoverishing of the Realme; and all the good Records of the Commonwealth, against his extortions, hee caused privily to bee embeaseled and carried away.

24 Item, in all leagues and letters to bee concluded and sent to the Sea of *Rome*, and other Regions, his writing was so subtill and darke, that no other Prince durst once believe him, not yet his owne Subjects.

25 Item, hee most tyrannously and unprincely said, that the lives and goods of all his Subjects, were in the Princes hands, and at his disposition.

26 Item, that hee contrary to the great Charter of *England*, caused divers lusty men to appeale divers old men, upon matters determinable at the Common law, in the Court Marciall, because that in that Court is no triall but onely by bat-

taile:

taile: whereby the ſaid aged perſons fearing the ſequell of the matter, ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy, whom hee fined and ranſomed unreaſonably at his pleaſure.

27 Item, he craftily deviſed certaine privy oathes, contrary to Law, and cauſed divers of his ſubjects, firſt to be ſworne to obſerve the ſame, and after bound them in bands for ſurer keeping the ſame, to the great undoing of many honeſt men.

28 Item, where the Chancellor according to law, would in no wiſe grant a prohibition to a certaine perſon, the King granted it unto the ſame perſon under his privie Seale, with great threatnings if it ſhould be diſobeyed.

29 Item, he baniſhed the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, without cauſe or judgement, and kept him in the Parliament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the Biſhops goods hee granted to his ſucceſſor, upon condition that hee ſhould maintaine all his

ſtatutes made at *Shrewsbury*, *Anno* 21. and the ſtatutes made, *Anno* 22. at *Coventree*.

31 Item, upon the accuſation of the Archbiſhop, the King craftily perſwaded the ſaid Biſhop to make no anſwer, for he would be his warrant, and adviſed him not to come to the Parliament; and ſo without anſwer hee was condemned, and exiled, and his goods ſeazed. Foure other Articles were laid, which particularly did concerne the ſaid Archbiſhop, by whoſe doing chiefly the King was utterly undone.

Then was demanded of the Nobility and Commons of the Realme, what they judged both of the truth and deſert of theſe Articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that King *Richard* was worthy for the ſame to be depoſed from his princely dignity. The noble men gave their voyces, part corrupted by favour, part awed by feare: and the Commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as one

one doth fly all will follow. Hereupon Commiſſioners were appointed by both the Houſes; who pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt King *Richard*, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen: Wee, John Biſhop of S. Aſſes, *I.* Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, Thomas Earle of Glouceſter, Thomas *Lord* Bekley, Thomas *Erpinghaime*, Thomas Gray *Knights*: William Therning, *Juſtice, Commiſſioners for the matters hereafter ſpecified, by the Lords ſpirituall and temporall of the Realme of* England, *and the Commons of the ſaid Realme, repreſenting all the States of the ſaid Kingdome, ſpecially deputed, ſitting in ſeate of judgement, and conſidering the manifold iniuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offences by* Richard *late King of the ſaid Realm committed and done, contrary to good governement in the Realmes and Dominions aforeſaid, during the time of his Raigne: alſo*

conſidering the articles which were openly exhibited and read before the ſaid States, which were ſo publike, notorious, manifeſt, and famous, that they could nor can by no avoydance and ſhift bee concealed: alſo conſidering the confeſſion of the ſaid King, acknowledging and reputing, and truly upon his certaine knowledge judging himſelfe, to have beene, and to be altogether inſufficient and unskilfull, for the rule and government of the Realmes and Dominions aforeſaid, and of any parts of them, and not unworthy to bee depoſed for the notorious demerits, by the ſaid Richard *firſt acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the ſaid States publiſhed, and to them opened and declared in the Engliſh tongue. Vpon theſe and other matters which were done concerning the ſame buſines, before the ſaid States and us, by the diligent place, name and authority to us in this part committed, in abundance and for a cautele wee pronounce, decree, and declare, the ſaid* Richard, *to have beene, and to be unprofitable*

ſitable and unable, and altogether unſufficient and unworthy for the rule, and government of the ſaid Realmes, and of the Dominions, Rights, and parts of them: and in regard and reſpect of the premiſes, worthily to bee depoſed from all kingly dignity and honour (if any ſuch dignity and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cautele wee doe depoſe him by our ſentence definitive, in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expreſly, all and ſingular Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vaſſalles, and all other perſons whatſoever, of the ſaid Realmes and Dominions, and other places to the ſaid Realmes and Dominions appertaining, the ſubjects and liege people of the ſame, and every of them, that from henceforth none obey, or intend to obey the aforeſaid Richard, *as King or Lord of the Realmes and Dominions aforeſaid.*

Then the ſame Commiſſioners were by the conſent and ſuffrages of both houſes, conſtituted Procura-

tors, joyntly and ſeverally for all the States of the Realme; to reſigne and ſurrender unto King *Richard*, for them and all other homages of the Realme, all the homages and fealties which were both due and done unto him, as King and Soveraigne, and alſo to declare unto him all the premiſes, concerning his depoſition. Now *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, that hee might bee reputed, or reported at the leaſt, not to attaine the Kingdome by intruſion and wrong, was counſailed by his friends, to pretend ſome lawfull challenge and claime thereunto: and being in power, it was no ſooner adviſed what was to bee done, but it was preſently deviſed how to doe it. So a title was drawne from *Edmund*, ſonne to King *Henry* the third, whom they ſurnamed Crouch-backe: affirming that hee was the eldeſt ſonne of King *Henry*, and that for his deformity, hee was put from his right of ſucceſſion in the Kingdome; which was for that cauſe given to his younger brother,

ther, King *Edward* the third; to this *Edmund* the Duke was next of blood by his mother *Blanche*, ſole daughter and heyre to *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*, and ſonne to the ſaid *Edmund*. This cunning conceit was perceived of all men, but ſeeming not to perceive it, was a point of friendſhip in ſome, and of obedience in the reſt: therefore the Kingdome of *England* being then thought vacant, both by the reſignation, and alſo by the depoſition of King *Richard*: Duke *Henry* aroſe from his ſeat, and ſtanding in the view of the Lords, croſſed himſelfe on the fore-head, and on the breſt, and ſpake as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen: I Henry *of Lancaſter, claime the realme of* England, *and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am deſcended by right line of the blood royall, comming from that good Lord K.* Henry *the third, & through the right that God of his grace hath ſent me, with the helpe of my kindred,*

and of my friends, to recover the ſame: Which kingdome was in point to be undone, for deſault of good government and due juſtice.

After theſe words, it was demanded in both houſes, of the Nobility and of the Commons which were aſſembled, whether they did conſent, that the Duke ſhould raign? who all with one voyce acknowledged and accepted him for their King: then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the Throne of eſtate, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* aſſiſting him, and all the aſſembly teſtifying their owne joy, and wiſhing his. Then the Archbiſhop made an Oration, and tooke for his theame, this place of Scripture: *See; this is the man whom I ſpake to thee of, this ſame ſhall raigne over my people*, 1 *Reg.* 9 17. After all this hee was proclaymed King of *England*, and of *France*, and Lord of *Ireland:* and the common people which is void of cares, not ſearching into ſequels, but with-

without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow thoſe that are mighty, with ſhoutes and clamours gave their applauſe, not all upon judgement, or faithfull meaning, but moſt only upon a received cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatſoever he be. Yet leaſt the heat of this humour ſhould allay by delay, it was forthwith proclaimed in the great Hall, that upon the 13. day of September next enſuing, the Coronation of the King ſhould be celebrated at *Weſtminſter*. Theſe matters being thus diſpatched, the K. proclaimed, aroſe from his ſeat, and went to *White-Hall*: where hee ſpent the reſt of day in royall feaſting, and all other complements of joy: notwithſtanding there appeared in him no token of ſtatelineſſe or pride, nor any change in ſo great a change.

Vpon Wedneſday next following, the Procurators, before mentioned, went to the preſence of King *Richard*, being within the Tower; and declared unto him the admiſſion

of his resignation, and also the order and forme of his deposition: and in the name of all the States of the realm, did surrender the homage and fealty which had bin due unto him; so that no man from thenceforth would bear to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King answered that he nothing regarded these titular circumstances, but contented himselfe with hope, that his cousen would be a gracious Lord, and good friend unto him.

So upon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the translation of *Edward* the Confessor, the Duke was with all accustomed solemnities, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sacred, annoynted, and crowned King at *Westminster*, by the name of King *Henry* the fourth: upon the very same day, wherein the yeare before he had bin banished the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certain religious man gave unto *Henry* the first, Duke of *Lancaster*, (Grandfather to the King by the mothers side) when he served in the wars

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of King *Edward* the third, beyond the ſeas; together with this Propheſie; that the Kings which ſhould bee annoynted therewith, ſhould bee the Champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* delivered this oyle in a golden violl to Prince *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the third; who locked up the ſame in a barred Cheſt within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when he ſhould be crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Father, it remayned there, either not remembred, or not regarded, untill this preſent yeare; wherein the King, being upon his voyage into *Ireland*, and making diligent ſearch for the Iewels and Monuments of his Progenitors, found this Violl and Propheſie: and underſtanding the ſecret, was deſirous to bee annoynted againe with that oyle: but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* perſwaded him, that both the fact was unlawfull, and tho

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precedent unseen, that a King should be annoynted twice: whereupon he brake off that purpose, and took the violl with him into *Ireland*: and when he yeelded himselfe at Flint, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* demanded it of him againe, and did receive and reserve the same, untill the coronation of King *Henry*; who was the first King of this Realme, that was annoynted therewith.

I am not purposed to discourse, either of the authority, or of the certainty of these propheſies: but wee may easily observe, that the greatest part of them, either altogether fayled, or were fulfilled in another sense, then as they were commonly construed and taken. During the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth, execution by fire was first put in practise within this Realme, for controversies in points of religion: in any other extraordinary matter, hee did as much make the Church Champion, as shew himselfe a Champion of the Church: but afterwards his suc-

ſucceſſors were intitule, *Defenders of the faith*: and how in action they verified the ſame, I refer to remembrance, and report of later times.

Now it had beene conſidered, that the title which was derived to King *Henry*, from *Edmund*, whom they ſurnamed *Crouchbacke*, would be taken but for a blind and idle jeſt: for that it was notorious that the ſaid *Edmund* was neither eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry* the third (as it was plainely declared by an act of Parliament) nor yet a miſhapen and deformed perſon: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiant Commander in the field, and ſo favoured of the King his Father, that hee gave him both the heritages and honours of *Simon Mountfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, of *Ferrare*, Earle of *Darby*, and of *John* Baron of *Monmuth*, who to their owne ruine and deſtruction, had diſplayed ſeditious enſignes againſt the King. And further to advance him to the marriage of *Blanch* Queene of *Navarre*, hee created him

the first Earle of *Lancester*, and gave unto him the County, Castle, and Towne of *Lancaster*, with the Forrests of Wiresdale Lounsdale, New-castle, beneath Linne, the Manner, Castle, and Forrest of Pickering, the Manner of Scaleby, the Towne of *Gomecester*, of *Huntendone*, &c. with many large priviledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* upon the day of his Coronation, caused to bee proclaymed, that hee claymed the kingdome of *England*, first by right of conquest: Secondly, because King *Richard* had resigned his estate, and designed him for his successour: Lastly, because hee was of the blood royall, and next heyre male unto King *Richard*.

Hæres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer*, Earle of March, unto his secret friends) and so is the Pyrate to the Merchant, when hee despoyleth him of all that he hath. This *Edmund* was sonne to *Roger Mortimer*, who was not long before slaine

ſlaine in *Ireland*, and had beene openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue, as deſcended by his Mother *Philip*, from *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, who was elder brother to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, King *Henries* Father: and therefore the ſaid *Edmund* thought himſelfe, and indeed was, neerer heyre male to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, then hee that by colour of right, clayming it, carried it by dint of force.

But ſuch was the condition of the time, that hee ſuppoſed it was vaine, for him to ſtirre, where King *Richard* could not ſtand: Wherenpon hee diſſembled, either that hee ſaw his wrong, or that hee regarded it; and choſe rather to ſuppreſſe his title for a time; then by untimely oppoſing himſelfe, to have it oppreſſed and depreſſed for ever: to this end hee withdrew himſelfe farre from *London*, to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*, in

in the Weſt parts of the Realme, and there ſetled himſelfe to a private and cloſe life: Idleneſſe and vacancy from publike affaires, he accounted a vertue, and a deepe point of wiſdome to meddle with nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeeld a reckoning. In revenues hee was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not exceſſive, (yet in all theſe honourable, and according to his degree) ſo that they which eſteemed men by outward appearance only, could ſee in him no great ſhew, either of wit and courage in his mind to be feared; or of wealth and honour in his eſtate to bee envied. And thus whileſt a greater enemy was feared, hee paſſed unregarded; making himſelfe ſafe by contempt where nothing was ſo dangerous as a good opinion; and raking up thoſe coales in obſcurity for a time, which ſhortly after ſet all the Realme on fire.

King *Henry* preſently after his coronation, created his eldeſt ſonne Lord

Lord *Henry*, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and ſoone after he created him alſo Duke of *Aquitaine*. Afterwards it was enacted, by conſent of all the ſtates of the Realme, aſſembled togeather in the Parliament, that the inheritance of the Crownes and Realmes of *England*, and of *France*, and of all the Dominions to them appertaining, ſhould bee united and remaine in the perſon of King *Henry*, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince *Henry* his eldeſt ſonne, ſhould be his heyre apparant, and ſucceſſor in the premiſes: and if hee ſhould dye without lawfull iſſue, then they were entayled to his other ſonnes ſucceſſively in order, and to the heyres of their bodies lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this ſort ſetled in King *Henry* and in his line, it was moved in the parliament what ſhould be done with King

King *Richard*. The Biſhop of *Caerliel*, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that alwayes uſed both liberty and conſtancy in a good cauſe; in his ſecret judgement did never give allowance to theſe proceedings: yet diſſembled his diſlike untill hee might to ſome purpoſe declare it: therefore now being in place to be heard of all, and by order of the houſe, to be interrupted by none, hee roſe up and with a bold and preſent ſpirit, uttered his mind as followeth.

This queſtion (right honourable Lords) concerneth a matter of great conſequence and weight: the determining whereof will aſſuredly procure, either ſafe quiet, or dangerous diſturbance, both to our particular conſciences, and alſo to the common ſtate. Therefore before you reſolve upon it, I pray you call to your conſiderations theſe two things: Friſt, whether King *Richard* be ſufficiently depoſed or no: Secondly, whether King *Henry* bee with good judge-

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ment or juſtice choſen in his place. For the firſt point we are firſt to examine, whether a King, being lawfully and fully inſtituted by any juſt title, may upon impution either of negligence, or of tyrannie, be depoſed by his ſubjects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which hee ſhould deſerve ſo heavy judgement. I will not ſpeake what may be done in a popular ſtate, or in a Conſular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet hee hath not ſupreme power of Majeſtie; but in the one, the people have the higheſt Empire; in the other, the Nobility, and chiefe men of eſtate; in neither, the Prince. Of the firſt ſort was the common-wealth of the Lacedæmoans, who after the form of government wch *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their kings, and ſometimes condemned them to death: ſuch were alſo in *Cæſars* time, the petty Kings of

of every Citie in *France*; who were many times arraigned upon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienſes* confeſſed) had no greater power over the people, then the people had over them. Of the ſecond condition were the Roman Emperours at the firſt; of whom ſome, namely, *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were ſuddenly ſurprized by judgement, and authority of the Senate: and ſuch are now the Emperors of *Germany*, whom the other Princes by their Ariſtocraticall power, doe not only reſtraine, but ſometimes alſo remove from their Imperiall ſtate: ſuch are alſo the Kings of *Denmarke*, and *Sweveland*, who are many times by the Nobility dejected, either into priſon, or into exile: ſuch likewiſe are the Dukes of *Venice*, and of ſome other free ſtates in *Italy*: and the chiefeſt cauſe for which *Lewes* Earle of *Flaunders* was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himſelfe cogniſance in matters of life and

Tranquil. in Caligula.
Tacitus in Proœmio.

and death, which high power never pertained to his dignity.

In theſe and ſuch like governments, the Prince hath not regall rights, but is himſelfe ſubject to that power which is greater then his, whether it bee in the Nobility or in the common people. But if the Soveraigne Majeſty be in the Prince, as it was in the three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdome of *Iudea*, and *Iſrael*; and is now in the kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Scotland*, *Muſcovia*, *Turky*, *Tartaria*, *Perſia*, *Ethiopia*, and almoſt all the kingdomes of *Aſia*, and *Africke*: although for his vices he be unprofitable to the ſubjects, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neither harme his perſon, nor hazard his power, whether by judgement, or elſe by force: for neither one, nor all Magiſtrates have any authority over the Prince, from whom all authority is derived, and whoſe only preſence doth ſilence, and ſuſpend all inferiour juriſdiction and

and power. As for force, what ſubject can attempt, or aſſiſt, or counſaile, or conceale violence againſt his Prince, and not incurre the high and hainous crime of treaſon?

It is a common ſaying, thought is free: free indeed from puniſhment of ſecular lawes, except by word or deed it breake forth into action: Yet the ſecret thoughts againſt the ſacred Majeſty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeavour, have beene adjudged worthy of death: and ſome who in auriculer confeſſion, have diſcovered their treacherous deviſes againſt the perſon of their Prince, have afterwards been executed for the ſame. All Lawes doe exempt a mad man from puniſhment: becauſe their actions are not governed by their will and purpoſe: and the will of man being ſet aſide, all his doings are indifferent, neither can the body offend without a corrupt or erronious mind: yet if a mad man draw his ſword upon his King,

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it hath beene adjudged to deſerve death. And leſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe that Princes, for the maintenance of their owne ſafety and ſoveraignety, are the onely Authors of theſe judgements; let us a little conſider the Patternes and Precepts of Holy Scripture. *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Aſſyria*, waſted all *Paleſtine* with fire and ſword, oppugned *Hieruſalem* a long time, and at the laſt expugned it: ſlue the King: burnt the Temple: tooke away the Holy Veſſels and Treaſure: the reſt hee permitted to the cruelty and ſpoyle of his unmercifull ſouldiers: who defiled all places with rape and ſlaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flouriſhing Citie: after the glut of this bloody butchery, the people which remayned, he led captive into *Chaldea*: and there erected his golden Image; and commanded that they which refuſed to worſhip it, ſhould bee caſt into a fiery Furnace.

What

What cruelty, what injuſtice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nebuchadnezzar* his ſervant, and promiſeth hyre and wages for his ſervice: and the Prophets *Ieremiah* and *Baruch* did write unto the Iewes to pray for the life of him, and of *Baltazar* his ſonne, that their dayes might bee upon earth as the dayes of Heaven: and *Ezechiel* with bitter termes abhorteth the diſloyalty of *Zedechia*, becauſe he revolted from *Nebuchadnezzar*, whoſe homager and tributary he was. What ſhall we ſay of *Saul*? did hee not put all the Prieſts to execution, becauſe one of them did relieve holy and harmeleſſe *David*? did hee not violently perſecute that his moſt faithfull ſervant and dutifull ſonne in law? during which purſuit, he fell twice into the power of *David*; who did not only ſpare, but alſo protect the King, and reproved the Pretorian ſouldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lap of his garment: and

Ier. 25 9.
Ezech. 29 18.
Ier. 29 7.
Bacuch. 1. 11.

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afterwards cauſed the Meſſenger to bee ſlaine, who upon requeſt and for pitty, had lent his hand (as hee ſaid) to help forward the voluntary death of that ſacred King. As for the contrary examples: as that of * *Iehu* who ſlew *Iehoram* and *Ahazia*, Kings of *Iſrael* and *Iuda*: they were done by expreſſe oracle and revelation from God, and are no more ſet downe for our imitation, then the robbing of the *Ægyptians*, or any other particular and priviledged Commandement; but in the generall Precept, which all men muſt ordinarily follow, not onely our actions, but our ſpeeches alſo, and our very thoughts are ſtrictly charged with duty and obedience unto Princes, whether they bee good or evill, the law of

* So did *Domitian* put to death *Epaphroditus*, *Neroes* libertine, becauſe he helped *Nero* (although in love) to kill himſelfe. So did *Severus* kill all the killers of *Pertinax* his Predeceſſour; and likewiſe *Vitellius* did put to death all the murtherers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of *Grecia* cauſed all thoſe to bee ſlaine, who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Armenius*. And *Alexander* the great put to cruell execution, thoſe that had ſlaine *Darius* his mighty and mortall enemy.

Deut. 17. 12. Pſal. 105. Exod. 22. 28. Act. 23. 5. Rom. 13. 1, 13. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 17. 2 Tim 2. 2.

God ordaineth: *That hee which doth preſumptuouſly againſt the Ruler of the people ſhall dye:* and the Prophet *David* forbiddeth, to touch the Lords annointed. *Thou ſhalt not* (ſaith the Lord) *raile upon the Iudges, neither ſpeake evill againſt the Ruler of the people.* And the Apoſtles doe demand further, that even our thoughts and ſoules be obedient to higher powers. And leaſt any ſhould imagine that they meant of good Princes onely, they ſpeake generally of all; and further to take away all doubt, they make expreſſe mention of the evill. For the power and authority of wicked Princes is the ordinance of God; and therefore CHRIST told *Pilate*, that the power which hee had was given him from above; and the Prophet *Eſay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a Prophane and Heathen Prince, the Lords annointed. For God ſtirred up the Spirit even of wicked Princes to doe his will; and (as *Iehoſaphat* ſaid to his Rulers) they execute not the judge-

Rom. 13. 2. Iohn 19. 11. Cap. 45. 1. 2 Chron. 36. 22.

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ment of man, but of the Lord: in regard whereof *David* calleth them Gods; becauſe they have their rule and authority immediately from God: which if they abuſe, they are not to bee adjudged by their Subjects, for no power within their Dominion is ſuperiour to theirs: but God reſerveth them to the ſoreſt triall: *Horribly and ſodainly (ſaith the wiſeman) will the Lord appeare unto them, and a hard judgement ſhall they have.* 2 Chron. 19. 6. Pſal. 28. Sap. 6.

The law of God commandeth, that the Childe ſhould bee put to death, for any contumely done unto the Parents: but what if the Father bee a robber? if a murtherer? if for all exceſſe of villanies, odious and execrable both to God and man? ſurely hee deſerveth the higheſt degree of puniſhment, and yet muſt not the Sonne lift up his hand againſt him, for no offence is ſo great as to bee puniſhed by parricide: but our Countrey is deerer unto us then our Parents: and the Prince is *Pater patriæ,* Quintil. in declam. Cic. offic. lib. 1.

triæ, the Father of our Countrey: and therefore more ſacred and deere unto us, then our Parents by nature, and muſt not bee violated, how imperious, how impious ſo ever hee bee: doth hee command or demand, our perſons or our purſes, wee muſt not ſhunne for the one, nor ſhrinke for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* ſaith,) *Kings have Dominion over the bodies and over the cattle of their Subjects, at their pleaſure.* Doth hee enjoyne thoſe actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? wee muſt neither wholy obey, nor violently reſiſt, but with a conſtant courage ſubmit our ſelves to all manner of puniſhment, and ſhew our ſubjection by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an Hereſie, to hold that a Prince may be ſlaine or depoſed by his Subjects, for any diſorder or default, either in life, or elſe in government, there will bee faults ſo long as there are men: and as we endure with patience a barren yeare, if it happen, and unſeaſona-

Nehem 9. 37.

Alphonſ. à caſt. in lib. de hæreſ. in verb. Tiran. Dom Sot. lib. 5. de juſt. & jur. q. 1. artic. 3.

ſonable weather, and ſuch other defects of nature, ſo muſt wee tollerate the imperfections of Rulers and quietly expect, either reformation, or elſe a change.

But alas good King *Richard*, what ſuch cruelty? what ſuch impiety hath he ever committed? examine rightly thoſe imputations which are laid againſt him, without any falſe circumſtance of aggravation, and you ſhall find nothing objected, either of any truth, or of great moment. It may bee that many errours and overſights have eſcaped him, yet none ſo grievous to bee termed tyranny; as proceeding rather from unexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counſaile, then from any naturall and wilfull malice. Oh, how ſhall the World bee peſtered with Tyrants, if Subjects may rebell upon every pretence of tyranny? how many good Princes ſhall dayly bee ſuppreſſed by thoſe, by whom they ought to bee ſupported? if they leavy a ſubſidy, or any other taxation, it ſhall

bee claimed oppreſſion: if they put any to death for trayterous attempts againſt their Perſons, it ſhall bee exclaimed cruelty: if they doe any thing againſt the luſt and liking of the people, it ſhall bee proclaimed tyranny.

But let it bee, that without authority in us, or deſert in him, King *Richard* muſt bee depoſed: yet what right had the Duke of *Lancaſter* to the Crowne? or what reaſon have wee without his right to give it to him? if hee make title as Heire unto King *Richard*, then muſt hee yet ſtay untill King *Richards* death: for no man can ſucceed as Heire to one that liveth. But it is well knowne to all men, who are not either wilfully blind or groſſely ignorant, that there are ſome now alive. Lineally deſcended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, whoſe off-ſpring was by judgement of the High Court of Parliament holden the eight yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, declared next Succeſſour to the Crowne,

Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue. Concerning the title from *Edmund Crouchback*, I will paſſe it over, ſeeing the authours thereof are become aſhamed of ſo abſurd abuſe, both of their owne knowledge and our credulity, and therefore all the claime is now made, by right of conqueſt; by the ceſſion and grant of King *Richard*; and by the generall conſent of all the people. It is a bad wooll that can take no colour: but what conqueſt can a Subject pretend againſt his Soveraigne, where the warre is inſurrection, and the victory high and heinous treaſon? as for the reſignation which King *Richard* made, being a pent Priſoner for the ſame cauſe, it is an act exacted by force: and therefore of no force and validity to bind him: and ſeeing that by the lawes of this Land, the King alone cannot alienate the ancient Jewels and ornaments pertaining to the Crowne, ſurely hee cannot give away the Crowne

it ſelfe, and therewithall the Kingdome.

Neither have wee any cuſtome, that the people at pleaſure ſhould elect their King: but they are alwayes bound unto him, who by right of bloud is right ſucceſſour; much leſſe can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence uſurped: for nothing can then be freely done, when liberty is once reſtrained by feare. So did *Scilla* by terrour of his Legions, obtaine the law of *Velleia* to be made, whereby hee was created Dictatour for foureſcore yeares: and by like impreſſion of feare, *Cæſar* cauſed the law *Servia* to bee promulged, by which hee was made perpetuall Dictatour: but both theſe lawes were afterwards adjudged void. As for the depoſing of King *Edward* the ſecond it is no more to bee urged, then the poiſoning of King *Iohn*, or the murdering of any other good and lawfull Prince: we muſt live according to lawes, and not to examples: and

yet

yet the Kingdome was not then taken from the lawfull ſucceſſour. But if we looke back to times lately paſt, we ſhall find that theſe titles were more ſtrong in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of *Lancaſter*. For King *Henry* the firſt being at large liberty, neither reſtrained in body, nor conſtrained in mind, had appointed him to ſucceed: (as it was upon good credit, certainely affirmed;) The people aſſented to this deſignement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was annointed King, and obtained full poſſeſſion of the Realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Anjowe*) having a neerer right by his Mother to the Crowne, (notwithſtanding his Father was a ſtranger, and himſelfe borne beyond the Seas (raiſed ſuch rough warres upon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of ſpoiling the goods and ſpilling the bloud of the unhappy people, beſides the ruines and deformities of many Cities and Holds; untill his lawfull

inheritance was to him assured. It terrifieth mee to remember how many flourishing Empires, and Kingdomes have beene by meanes of such contentions either torne in pieces with detestive division, or subdued to forreigne Princes, under pretence of assistance and aid: and I need not repeate how sore this Realme hath heretofore beene shaken with these severall mischieves: and yet neither the examples of other Countries, nor the miseries of our owne, are sufficient to make us to beware.

O *English men*, worse bewitched then the fooliſh *Galathians*; our unstayed minds and restlesse resolutions, doe nothing else but hunt after our owne harmes: no people have more hatred abroad, and none lesse quiet at home: in other Countries the sword of invasion hath beene shaken against us: in our owne land, the fire of insurrection hath beene kindled among us: and what are these innovasions, but whetstones

to

to ſharpen the one and bellowes to blow up the other.

Certainely I feare that the ſame will happen unto us which *Æſop* fableth to have beene fallen unto the Frogges; who being deſirous to have a King, a beame was given unto them: the firſt fall whereof did put them in ſome feare, but when they ſaw it lye ſtill in the ſtreame, they inſulted thereon with great contempt, and deſired a King of quicker courage: then was ſent unto them a Storke, which ſtalking among them with ſtately ſteps, continually devoured them. The mildneſſe of King *Richard* hath bred in us this ſcorne, interpreting it to bee cowardiſe and dulneſſe of nature: the next Heire is likewiſe rejected: I will not ſay that with greater courage we ſhall find greater cruelty; but if either of theſe ſhall hereafter bee able to ſet up their ſide, and bring the matter to triall by armes, I doe aſſuredly ſay, that which part ſoever ſhall carry the fortune of the field, the peo-

people both wayes muſt goe to wrack. And thus have I declared my mind concerning this queſtion; in more words then your wiſedom, yet fewer then the weight of the cauſe doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that we have neither power nor policy, either to depoſe King *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henry* in his place; that King *Richard* remaineth ſtill our Soveraigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for us to give judgement upon him; that the Duke whom you call King, hath more offended againſt the King and the Realme, then the King hath done, either againſt him or us; for being baniſhed the Realme for tenne yeares by the King and his Counſaile (amongſt whom his owne Father was chiefe) and ſworne not to returne againe without ſpeciall licenſe: hee hath not onely violated his oath, but with impious armes diſturbed the quiet of the Land, and diſpoſſeſſed the King from his Royall eſtate, and now demandeth judgement againſt his

his perſon, without offence proved, or defence heard. If this injury and this perjury doth nothing move us, yet let both our private and common dangers ſomewhat withdraw us from theſe violent proceedings.

This ſpeech was diverſly taken, as men were diverſly affected betweene feare, hope, and ſhame: yet the moſt part did make ſhew for King *Henry*, and thereupon the Biſhop was preſently attached by the Earle Marſhall, and committed to priſon in the Abbey of Saint *Albones*, whoſe counſaile and conjecture then contemned, was afterwards better thought upon; partly in the life time of King *Henry*, during whoſe raigne, almoſt no yeare paſſed without great ſlaughters and executions: but more eſpecially in the times ſucceeding, when within the ſpace of 36. yeares, twelve ſet battailes upon this quarrell were fought within the Realme by *Engliſh* men onely: and more then foureſcore Princes

of

of the Royall bloud ſlaine one by another.

Then it was concluded, that King *Richard* ſhould bee kept in a large priſon, with all manner of Princely maintenance: and if any perſons ſhould conſpire to reare warre for his deliverance, that hee ſhould bee the firſt man who ſhould ſuffer death for that attempt. Then the Acts of the Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, in the 11. yeare of King *Richard*, were revived; and the Parliament holden the 21. yeare of King *Richard* was wholly repealed: and they who were attainted by that Parliament, were reſtored againe to their fame and honour, and to their Lands, without ſuing livery, and to ſuch goods whereof the King was not anſwered, except the rents and iſſues which had beene received out of their lands in the meane time. Hereupon, *Richard* Earle of *Warwick* was delivered out of priſon, and the Earle of *Arundels* Sonne recovered his inheritance: many others alſo that were

were baniſhed or impriſoned by King *Richard*, were then fully reſtored againe, to their Countrey, Liberty, and Eſtate.

It was further provided, that none of thoſe which came in aid of King *Henry* againſt King *Richard*, ſhould for that cauſe bee impeached or troubled. Alſo the King gave to the Earle of *Weſtmerland* the County of *Richmond*; and to the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gave the Ile of *Man*, to bee houlden of him by the ſervice of bearing the ſword, wherewith hee entred into *England*. Divers other of his followers he advanceth to offices of higheſt place and charge, ſome upon judgement and for deſert, but moſt part to winne favour, and perhaps projecting a plot for friends, if times ſhould change: for in many actions men take more care to prevent revenge, then to lead an innocent and harmeleſſe life.

It was further agreed, that the Procurers of the death and Murther of

of *Thomas* late Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſhould bee ſearched out and ſeverely puniſhed. And judgement was given againſt the appellants of the Earle of *Warwick* and the Earle of *Arundel*, that the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Suſſex*, and *Exceter*, the Marqueſſe of *Dorſet*, and the Earle of *Glouceſter* who were preſent, ſhould looſe their degree of honour for them and their Heires: that they ſhould likewiſe looſe all the Caſtles, Mannours, Lordſhips, &c. then in their hands which ſometimes appertained to thoſe whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents and charters which they had concerning the ſame, ſhould bee ſurrendred into the Chancery, and there bee cancelled: that for all other their Caſtles, Mannours, Lordſhips, Poſſeſſions, and Liberties they ſhould bee at the grace and mercy of the King: that they ſhould give no liveries, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely ſuch Officers as were meerely neceſſary for their degree:

degree: that if any of them ſhould adhere to *Richard* the depoſed King, in giving him aid or encouragement, againſt the judgement of his depoſition, then hee ſhould incurre the paines and forfeitures of high treaſon. And becauſe it was a clamorous complaint among the Common people, that many Officers had committed grievous extortions and wrongs, either by the open maintenance or ſecret connivence of theſe Lords: Firſt, thoſe Officers were removed, and that corruption taken away with integrity, which bribery had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad quality, in high degrees of office and ſervice: then Proclamations were made, that if any man had beene oppreſſed by theſe Lords, or by any Officers under them, he ſhould prove his complaint,& receive recompence. It was made a queſtion whether it was not meet that theſe Noble men ſhould be put to death: the importunity of the people,

people, and the perſwaſion of many great men drew that way, but policy was againſt it, and eſpecially the opinion of clemency, which ſeemed needfull to the ſetling of a new riſen ſtate.

In this Parliament alſo the Lord *Fitzwater* appealed the ſaid Duke of *Aumerle*, Sonne to the Duke of *Yorke*, upon points of High treaſon: likewiſe the Lord *Morley* appealed *Iohn Montacute* Earle of *Sarliſbury*, and more then twenty other appealants waged battaile; but the King purpoſing to lay the foundation of his Realme by favour and not by force, gave pardon and reſtitution alike to all, upon ſureties and band for their allegeance: and in a ſweet and moderate oration hee admoniſheth, and as it were intreated the one part, that old griefes and grudges ſhould not bee renewed, but buried together with the memory of former times, wherein men were forced to doe many things againſt their minds:

the

the other part hee desired to bee more regardfull of their actions afterwards, and for the time past, rather to forget that ever they were in fault, then to remember that they were pardoned. No punishment was laid upon any, save onely the Earle of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Morley*, who had beene in especiall grace and favour with King *Richard*: these two were committed to prison, but at the sute of their friends they were soone released: the rest the King received freely to favour, but most especially the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Excester*, Lord Governour of *Calis*. The Duke of *Aumerle* was cousen germane to both the Kings: *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, was halfe brother to King *Richard*, and brother in law to King *Henry*; whose Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, hee had taken to wife. The greatest matter that was enforced against them, was their loialty unto King *Richard*: (a grievous crime among rebels)

bels) becauſe they did not onely ſtomack and ſtorme at his dejection, but ſtirre alſo more then others, and aſſay to raiſe forces on his behalfe. The Dukes boldly confeſſed the accuſation, that they were indeed unfortunately faithfull to King *Richard*; but as thoſe who once are falſe, doe ſeldome afterwards prove ſoundly firme, ſo they that have ſhewed themſelves true to one Prince may the better bee truſted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then remit it as a fault: affirming, that ſuch examples were not to bee miſliked of Princes: to hee entred with them into great termes of friendſhip, and put them in place neereſt his perſon, endeavouring by courteſie and liberalty, to make them faſt and faithfull unto him: this fact was diverſly interpreted, according to mens ſeverall diſpoſitions, ſome admiring the Kings moderation, others diſliking and diſallowing his confidence; and indeed, although theſe meanes have to this purpoſe pre-

prevailed with ſome, yet the common courſe may move us commonly to conjecture, that there is little aſſurance in reconciled enemies: whoſe affections (for the moſt part) are like unto Glaſſe; which being once cracked, can never bee made otherwiſe then crazed and unſound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all prejudice and hard opinion which other Princes might chance to conceive, King *Henry* diſpatched Embaſſadours to divers Countries neere unto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what favour and deſire of all the people hee attained the Kingdome. To the Court of *Rome*, hee ſent *Iohn Trevenant* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *Iohn Cheyney* Knight, and *Iohn Cheyney* Eſquire: into *France* hee ſent *Walter Sherlow* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Lord *Thomas Pearcy* Earle of *Worceſter*: into *Spaine*, hee ſent *Iohn Trevor* Biſhop of S. *Aſſaphes*, and Sir *William Parre*, and

and into *Almaine* hee ſent the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and certaine other. Moſt of theſe Princes (as in a matter which little concerned either their honour or their harme) ſeemed either not to regard what was done, or eaſily to bee perſwaded that all was done well. But *Charles* King of *France*, was ſo diſtempered at this diſhonourable dealing with his Sonne in law King *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion, hee fell into his old panges of phrenſie: and at the laſt by helpe of phyſick returning to the ſobriety of his ſences, hee purpoſed to make ſharpe warre upon that diſloyall people (as hee termed them) for this injury againſt their lawfull and harmeleſſe Prince. Many Noble men of *France* ſhewed themſelves very forward to enter into the ſervice, but eſpecially the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who had married King *Richards* halfe Siſter. So letters of defiance were ſent into *England*, and great preparation was made for the warre. Like-

Likewiſe the newes of theſe novelties much abaſhed the *Aquitanes* (who were at that time under the *Engliſh* ſubjection) and plunged their thoughts in great perplexities. Some were grieved at the infamous blemiſh of the *Engliſh* nation, who had deſtained their honour with the ſpot of ſuch diſloyall dealing: others feared the ſpoile of their goods, and oppreſſion of their liberties by the *French men*; againſt whoſe violence they ſuſpected that the Realme of *England*, being diſtracted into civill factions, either would not attend, or ſhould not bee able to beare them out: but the Citizens of *Burdeaux* were chiefely anguiſhed in reſpect of King *Richard*, partly fretting at his injury, and partly lamenting his infortunity; becauſe hee was borne and brought up within their City. And thus in the violence, ſome of their anger, ſome of their griefe, and ſome of their feare, in this ſort they did generally complaine.

O good

O good God (ſaid they) where is the World become? Saints are turned to Serpents, and Doves into Divels. The *Engliſh* nation which hath beene accompted fierce onely againſt their foes, and alwayes faithfull to their friends; are now become both fierce and faithleſſe againſt their lawfull and loving Prince, and have moſt barbarouſly betrayed him. Who would ever have thought that Chriſtians, that civill people, that any men, would thus have violated all Religion, all Lawes, and all honeſt and orderly demeanure? And although the Heavens bluſh at the view, and the Earth ſweat at the burthen of ſo vile a villany, and all men proclaime and exclaime upon ſhame and confuſion againſt them: yet they neither feele the horrour; nor ſhrinke at the ſhame, nor feare the revenge; but ſtand upon tearmes, ſome of defence for the lawfulneſſe of their dealing; and ſome of excuſe for the neceſſity. Well, let them bee able to blind the

world, and to reſiſt mans revenge; yet ſhall they never be able to eſcape either the ſight or vengeance of Almighty God; which we daily expect, and earneſtly deſire to bee powred upon them. Alas good King *Richard*, thy nature was too gentle, and thy government too mild for ſo ſtiffe and ſtubborne a people: what King will ever repoſe any truſt in ſuch unnaturall ſubjects, but fetter them with Lawes, as theeves are with Irons? What carriage hereafter can recover their credit? What time will bee ſufficient to blot out this blemiſh? What other action could they have done, more joyfull to their enemies, more wofull to their friends, and more ſhamefull to themſelves? Oh corruption of times! Oh conditions of men!

The French-men were nothing diſcontented at this diſcontenement of the Aquitanes, ſuppoſing that opportunity was then offered, to get into their poſſeſſion the Dutchie of

Guian, if either power or policie were thereto applyed. Hereupon *Lewes* Duke of *Burbon* came downe to *Angier*, who from thence ſent many meſſengers to the chiefe cities of *Guian*, and by faire ſpeeches and large promiſes, ſolicited the people to change alleageance: on the contrary ſide, Sir *Robert Knowles* Lieutenant of *Guian*, endeavoured with al diligence to repreſſe the mutinous, to ſtay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to retaine all in order and obedience: but hee profited very little, whether by the weakneſſe of his owne arme, or ſtiffe neck of the people it is not certainely aſſured, Neither did the Duke of *Burbone* much prevaile, when it was conſidered, how ponderous the yonke of *France* was above the Engliſh ſubjection: for all men were well acquainted with what tributes and taxations the French men were charged, having in every countrey Lievtenants and Treaſurers aſſigned, the one to draw the blood, the other

other the ſubſtance of the ſlaviſh ſubjects, whoſe cruelty and covetouſneſſe laid hold without exception upon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other undoing by Law. Thus ſtood the Aquitanes upon tickle tearmes betweene obedience and revolt, as a ſhip which the wind driveth oneway, & the tide another: deſirous they were to diſpleaſe the Engliſh, but loath to endanger and undoe themſelves.

Vpon advertiſement whereof, King *Henry* ſent into *Guian*, the Lord *Thomas Perce* Earle of *Worceſter*, whom hee knew to bee faithfull unto him, and expert in matters of charge, having in his company a ſtrong and ſerviceable band of ſouldiers: who not by unſeaſonable exprobating their fault, but by reaſon, convincing it, partly with his wiſdome and credit ſo perſwaded, and partly with his authority and forces ſo terrified the wavering people, that hee wanne them to his

opinion, and confirmed them in their alleageance; the graver sort with respect of duty and faith, the rest with regard and feare of danger. Then hee received oaths of obedience unto King *Henry*, and planted certaine strong garrisons in places of chiefe import, without molestation if they remayned quiet, and yet of force to represse them, if they should rebell. This done, he turned againe into *England*, where he shewed an excellent example of moderation, in seeming rather to have found, then to have made the Aquitanes dutifull subjects.

No sooner could this stirre be stinted, but another more dangerous and desperate did forthwith arise: for divers noble men who either had dissembled, or did repent the furtherance that they used to the advancement of King *Henry*, did conspire together to compasse his destruction: the Histories of that time doe vary, concerning the causes of this conspiracy; whether it were for favour

favour to King *Richard*, as the nature of man is inclinable, to behold ſuddaine misfortune with a pittifull eye; or for envy to King *Henry*, as commonly wee can endure exceſſive fortune, no where ſo little as in thoſe that have beene in equall degree with our ſelves: or whether upon diſhoncurs received in the late Parliament, or upon disdaine to ſee others goe before them in the Princes favour, many ſought to revenge their unjuſt anger with lewd diſloyalty: likewiſe it is not aſſuredly known by what meanes the workers thereof were drawne together, and the ſecret deviſes of ſome imparted to the reſt: whether one of them did perſwade another to enter into the action, or whether all were induced by the ſame unconſtant diſpoſition, and light account of faith: which being once falſed to K. *Richard*, was afterwards upon every light diſcontentment little reſpected to any: but concerning theſe matters, the moſt currant report is this.

There was at that time an Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, one that applyed his ſtudies, not as the moſt part, to cloake idleneſſe and ſloath under the glorious title of religion, but to enable himſelfe for counſaile and direction in publike affaires; who for the generall opinion of his wiſdome and integrity: was in good favour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his laſt voyage into *Ireland*.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a ſpeech which hee heard once fall from King *Henry*, when hee was but Earle of *Derby*, and not yet come to any great ſtayednesſe, either in yeares or judgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the Church were growne ſo great, that many began to looke upon them with an envious eye; but leſt covetouſneſſe ſhould ſhew it ſelfe with open face, policie was pretended, and the exceſſe thought dangerous, both

both to the King and alſo to the Clergy; as very like to cauſe want to the one, and wantonneſſe in the other.

Hereupon many bils had been put up in the Parliaments holden in the raigne of King *Richard*, that proviſion might bee made to repreſſe the increaſe of riligious poſſeſſions; namely, that inquiſition and redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as under the licence to purchaſe ten pounds yearly, did purchaſe foureſcore, or a hundred pounds: and alſo againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villaines to take to their wives free-women, inheritable, whereby the Lands came to thoſe religious mens hands: yea it was moved in open Parliament, that the King ſhould ſeaze into his hands, all the temporall Livings of religious houſes, as being rather a burthen, then a benefit unto religion.

Vpon theſe and the like Petitions, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, for themſelves and the Clergy of their Provinces, were oftentimes compelled to make their ſolemne proteſtations in open Parliament, that if any thing were attempted in reſtraint of the liberty of the Church, they would in no wiſe aſſent, but utterly withſtand the ſame: the which their proteſtations they required to be enrouled.

So partly upon love to King *Richard*, and partly upon feare, leaſt K. *Henry* would be as ready to invade, as he was to inveigh againſt the richneſſe of religious houſes: this Abbot was the firſt man that blew the coales and put fewell to the fire of this confederacy. And firſt hee obſerved a farre off, then hee ſearched more neerly and narrowly (and yet warely too) how the minds of certaine Noble-men were affected, or rather infected againſt King *Henry*; tempering his ſpeeches in ſuch ſort, that if matters ſorted to his mind, hee might take

take them upon him, if his courſes were croſſed, hee might clearely diſclaime them: at laſt hee invited to his houſe upon a day, in *Michaelmas* tearme, thoſe whom he had ſounded to bee moſt ſound for his purpoſe: the chiefe of whom were ſuch as in the Parliament before had in ſome ſort beene touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconcilement the harme did ſeeme to bee cloſed up: their names were *Iohn Holland* Duke of Exeter, of whom mention hath beene made before, *Thomas Holland* his brothers Sonne, Duke of *Surrey*, *Edward*, Duke of *Aumerle*, *Iohn Montacute*, Earle of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spencer*, Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Iohn Biſhop* of *Caerliele*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Magdalen*, one of King *Richards* Chappell, who in all points, both of feature and favour, ſo neerly reſembled King *Richard*, that the Lords diſſembled afterwards, that hee was King *Richard* indeed.

Theſe and ſome others were high-

ly feasted by the Abbot: and after dinner they withdrew themselves, into a secret Chamber to counsaile: here the Duke of *Exceter*, who was most hotly bent, either to restore, or to revenge the cause of his deposed brother, declared unto the rest, the allegeance that they had sworne unto King *Richard*: the honours and preferments whereunto they were by him advanced: that therefore they were bound both in conscience by the one, and in kindnesse by the other, to take his part against all men: that King *Henry* contrary to both, had dispoyled him of his royall dignity, and unjustly possessed himselfe thereof, whilest they stood looking on, and shewed neither the obedience of subjects, nor love of friends, as though they were men who knew to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if need were to dye for their lawfull Prince and loving Patron: that King *Henry* by violent invading, or fraudulent insinuating himselfe, into the

the kingdom of his naturall & liege Prince, was but a tyrant & uſurper, & ſuch aone as it was lawful for any man, by any means to throw down, without reſpect whether hee were a good man or evill, for it is lawfull for no man upon pretence & ſhew of goodnes, to draw ſoveraignty untohimſelf; that the laws & examples of beſt governed common-wealths, did not only permit this action, but highly honored it with ſtatues & garlands, & titles of Nobility, & alſo rewarded it with al the wealth of the ſuppreſſed tyrant: that this enterprize would be very profitable, & almoſt neceſſary to the Common-wealth, by extinguiſhing thoſe wars which the Scots menaced, the French-men prepared, & the Welſhmen had already begun upon this occaſion and quarrell; that he did not diſtruſt but it might be accompliſhed by open armes, but he thought it more ſure for them, and for the Common-wealth more ſafe, to put firſt in proofe ſome ſecret policy: and to that purpoſe hee deviſed, that a ſolemne

ſolemne Iuſts ſhould bee challenged, to be keept at *Oxford*, in Chriſtmaſſe holy-dayes, betweene him and twenty on his part, and the Earle of *Saliſbury* and twenty on his part, to which King *Henry* ſhould be invited: and when hee was moſt intentive in regarding their military diſport, hee ſhould ſuddenly be ſurpriſed by men, which without ſuſpition, might at that time bee aſſembled, both for number and preparation ſufficient for the exployt, and thereby King *Richard* preſently be reſtored, both to his liberty, and to his eſtate.

This deviſe was no ſooner uttered, then allowed and applauded of the reſt of the confederates: and ſo reſolving upon the Enterprize, they tooke an oath upon the Evangeliſts, the one to bee true and ſecret to the other, even to the houre and point of death: the Lords alſo made an Indenture ſextipartite, wherein they bound themſelves, to doe their beſt aſſay, for the death of the one King, and deliverance of the other: this they

they ſealed and ſubſcribed, and delivered to every Lord a counter-pane of the ſame: and further they concluded what forces ſhould be gathered, by whom, how they ſhould bee ordered & placed, and to whoſe truſt the execution ſhould be committed.

When all things were thus contrived, and their hungry ambitious minds were well filled with the vain winds of hope and deſire: the Duke of *Exeter* came to the King at *Windſore*, & deſired him for the love that he bare to the noble feats of Chevalry, that hee would vouchſafe to honour with his preſence the martiall exerciſe, that was appointed betweene him and the Earle of *Salisbury*, and to be the Iudge of their performances, if any controverſie ſhould ariſe.

The King ſuppoſing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in ſhew, eaſily yeelded to his requeſt. The Duke ſuppoſing his purpoſe now halfe performed, departed to his houſe, and ſo did the other confederates: where they buſily beſtirred themſelves

themſelves, in rayſing men, and preparing horſe and armour for the accompliſhment of this act.

When the Dutcheſſe of Exceter, K. *Henries* ſiſter perceived the drift of the deviſe, and ſaw that the Duke was upon his journey: alas good Lady how was ſhee diſtracted in mind, with a ſharpe conflict of her conceipts? one way ſhe was moved with nature towards her brother; another way ſhe was more ſtrongly ſtirred, with love towards her Lord and huſband: and both wayes ſhe was divided in duty. And what (ſaid ſhee) is this love then againſt nature? or above it? ſhall I bee undutifull to my Prince? or is no duty comparable to the duty of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged, to ſee my two deareſt friends in this caſe of extremity, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainely one muſt bee ruined by the other. Herewith ſuch a ſhower of teares ſtreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her ſpeech, and ſtopped the

the paſſage of further complaint: which when the Duke eſpyed, hee ſtepped unto her, and ſeazing ſoftly upon her hand, uſed theſe words. What *Beſſe?* is it kindneſſe to me, or kindred to your brother that thus hath ſet your eyes on floate? Content your ſelfe woman, for whatſoever the event ſhall bee, it cannot bee evill to you, nor worſe to mee then now it is. For if my purpoſe prevaile, and my brother be reſtored againe to his Crowne, both of us ſhall bee ſure never to decline: if it be prevented, and your brother continue ſtill in his eſtate, no harme ſhall bee done unto you, and I ſhall bee ſure then of that deſtruction which I doe now continually dread; the feare whereof in expecting, is a greater torment then the paine in ſuffering. When he had thus ſaid, hee kiſſed her, and ſo leaving her to the torture of a thouſand thorny thoughts, hee tooke his journey towards *Oxford*, with a

great

great company both of Archers and Horsemen. There hee found all the rest of his complices well armed and banded, except only the Duke of *Aumerle*.

The King also hearing that both the Challengers and Defendants were in a readinesse, determined the day following to ride to *Oxford*, according to his promise and appointment.

Now the confederates much marvelled at the stay of the Duke of *Aumerle*, some onely blamed his slackenesse, others began to suspect it, every man conjectured as he was diversly affected betweene confidence and feare: and in this confusion of opinions, they sent unto him in poste, to know the certaine truth. Before the Messenger came to the Duke, he was departed from *Westminster* towards *Oxford*, not the direct way, but went first to see his Father the Duke of *Yorke*, and carried with him the counterpane of the Indenture of confederacy. As they sate at dinner, the Father

ther eſpied it in his boſome, and demanded what it was, the ſon humbly craved pardon, and ſaid that it nothing touched him; by Saint *George*, (quoth the Father) but I will ſee it: and ſo whether upon precedent jealouſie, or ſome preſent cauſe of ſuſpition he tooke it away from him by force. When hee perceived the contents, he ſuddenly aroſe from the table, and with great fierceneſſe, both of countenance and ſpeech, uttered to his Sonne theſe words.

I ſee traytor, that idleneſſe hath made thee ſo wanton and mutinous, that thou playeſt with thy faith, as children doe with ſticks: thou haſt beene once already faithleſſe to King *Richard*, and now againe art falſe to K. *Henry*, ſo that like the fiſh *Sepia*, thou troubleſt all the waters wherein thou liveſt. Thou knoweſt that in open Parliament I became ſurety and pledge for thy allegeance, both in body and goods: and can neither thy duty, nor my deſert reſtraine thee, from ſeeking my deſtruction? in faith,

faith, but I will rather helpe forward thine. With that hee commanded his Horſes to be made ready, and preſently tooke his journey towards *Windſore*, where the King then lay.

The Duke of *Aumerle* had no time either to conſult with his friends, or to conſider with himſelfe what was beſt to be done: but taking adviſe upon the ſodaine hee mounted likewiſe on horſe-backe, and poſted towards *Windſore* another way. It was no need to force him forward, his youthfull blood, and his ſodaine danger were in ſteed of two wings, to keepe his horſe in *Pegaſus* pace: ſo that hee came to *Windſore*, and was alighted at the Caſtle, before his ſtiffe aged Father could come neere. Then he entred the gates, and cauſed them to be ſurely locked, and tooke the keyes into his owne hands, pretending ſome ſecret cauſe for which hee would deliver them unto the King. When hee came in preſence hee

hee kneeled down and humbly craved of the King mercy and forgiveneſſe. The King demanded for what offence? Then with a confuſed voice and ſad countenance, caſting downe his eyes as altogether abaſhed, partly with feare of his danger, and partly with ſhame of his diſcredit; hee declared unto the King all the manner of the conſpiracie. The King ſeemed neither raſhly to beleeve, nor negligently to diſtruſt the Dukes report; neither ſtood it with pollicie to entertaine the diſcovery with any hard and violent uſage: therefore with gracious ſpeeches hee comforted the Duke; and if this bee true, ſaid hee, wee pardon you: if it bee feined, at your extreame perill bee it.

By this time the Duke of *Yorke* was rapping at the Caſtle gates, and being admitted to the Kings preſence, hee delivered to him the Indenture of confederacie, which he had taken from his ſonne. When the

the King had read it, and was thereby perſwaded of the truth of the matter, hee was not a little diſquieted in mind, complayning of the unconſtant diſpoſition of thoſe men, whom neither cruelty (hee ſaid) could make firme to King *Richard*, nor clemency to him, but upon diſlike of every preſent government, they were deſirous of any change. So being poſſeſſed with deeper thoughts, then to gaze upon games, hee layd his journey aſide, and determined to attend at *Windſor*, what courſe his enemies would take, and which way they would ſet forward: knowing right well, that in civill tumults, an adviſed patience, and opportunity well taken are the onely weapons of advantage; and that it is a ſpeciall point of wiſdome, to make benefit of the enemies folly. In the meane time he directed his Letters to the Earle of *Northumberland*, his high Conſtable, and to the Earle of *Cumberland*, his high Marſhall, and to others his moſt aſſured friends, concerning

ning theſe ſodain and unexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, and ſeeing no preparation for the Kings comming, were out of doubt that their treaſon was betrayed. And now conſidering that once before they had beene pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded them from all hope of further mercie: whereupon they became deſperate, and ſo reſolved to proſecute that by open armes, wherein their privie practiſes had fayled. And firſt they apparelled *Magdalen* (a man very like to King *Richard*, both in ſtature and countenance, and of yeares not diſagreeable) in princely attire; and gave foorth that he was King *Richard*, and that either by favour or negligence of his Keepers, hee was eſcaped out of priſon, and deſired the faith and ayde of his loving ſubjects. Then they determined to diſpatch meſſengers to *Charles* King of *France*, to deſire his

his helpe and aſſiſtance on the behalfe of his ſonne in law, if need ſhould require.

The common people which commonly are ſoone changeable, and on the ſodaine, as prone to pitty, as they were before exceſſively cruell, moſt earneſtly wiſhed the enlargement of King *Richard*, and earneſtly wiſhing, did eaſily beleeve it: in which imaginary conceit, being otherwiſe men of no deepe ſearch, the preſence of *Magdalene* moſt ſtrongly confirmed them, and ſo either upon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they joyned themſelves in great troops to the Lords: deſiring nothing more then to bee the meanes whereby King *Richard* ſhould be reſtored, as in a manner reſuming their firſt affections and humours towards him. Then the Lords of this aſſociation with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters unknowne, advanced forward in battell array towards *Windſore*, againſt King *Henry*, as againſt an enemy

my of the common ſtate; having in their company above forty thouſand armed men. The King upon intelligence of their approach, ſecretly with a few horſe, the next ſunday night after New-yeares day, departed from *Windſore* to the Tower of London, and the ſame night before it was day, the confederates came to the Caſtle of *Windſore:* where miſſing their expected prey, they ſtood doubtfull and divided in opinions, which way to bend their courſe. Some adviſed them with all ſpeed to follow the King to *London*, and not to leave him any leave and liberty, to unite an Army againſt them: that Winter was no let but in idle and peaceable times: that in civill diſſentions nothing is more ſafe then ſpeed, and greater advantage alwayes groweth by diſpatching then deferring: that whileſt ſome were in feare, ſome in doubt, and ſome ignorant, the Citie, yea the Realme might eaſily be poſſeſſed: and that many Armies whoſe fury at the firſt ruſh could

could not be reſiſted by delayes, did weare out, and waſte to nothing. Others who would ſeeme to be conſiderate and wiſe, but in very deed were no better then daſtards, perſwaded rather to ſet King *Richard* firſt at liberty; for if their counterfeiting ſhould be diſcovered before they poſſeſſed themſelves of his perſon, the people undoubtedly would fall from them to the certaine confuſion of them all. Hereupon they gave over the purſuit, and retyred to *Colebrooke*, and there delayed out the time of doing, in deliberating, being neither couragiouſly quicke, nor conſiderately ſtayed, but faintly and fearefully ſhrinking backe: and when they once began to relent, they decreaſed every day more and more both in power and in hope.

King *Henry* the next morning after he was come to the Tower, ſent to the Major of the Citie to put Souldiers in armes for his aſſiſtance, who preſently preſented unto him three thouſand Archers, and three thouſand

ſand bill-men, beſides thoſe that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King ſpent upon him many good ſpeeches, and liberally loaded him with promiſes and thankes: and ſoone after hee iſſued out of *London*, with twenty thouſand tall men, and came to *Hounſlow* Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemies to joyne iſſue in the field: contemning their diſorderly multitude, as a vaine terrour of names without forces. But the confederates, either for feare of the Kings power, or for diſtruſt of their owne, or elſe lingring, perhaps, after ſome ſuccour out of *France*, refuſed the encounter; and doubtfull it is, whether they ſhewed greater courage in ſetting up the danger, or cowardiſe, in declining it when it was preſented unto them.

So they departed from *Colebrooke* to *Sunnings*, a place neere *Reading*, where Queene *Iſabell*, King *Richards* wife did then abide:

to whom upon the plain truth before declared fame had falſly deſcanted, that K. *Richard* was eſcaped out of priſon, and did lye at *Pomfret* with a hundred thouſand armed men; and that King *Henry* for feare of him, was fled with his children and friends to the Tower of *London*. All which was as lightly beleeved as it was vainely told: whereupon ſhe defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his cogniſance from thoſe his ſervants that attended upon her; and having in ſome ſort ſatisfied her womanniſh anger, with this harmeleſſe ſpight, ſhee and the Lords departed together firſt to *Wallingford*, and from thence to *Abington*, ſtirring the people by the way to take armour, and to riſe in ayde of King *Richard*, who was (ſaid they) and is, and ſhould be their Prince.

At the laſt they came to *Chicheſter* and there the Lords tooke their lodgings, the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earle of *Salisbury* in one Inne; the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earle of

of *Glouceſter* in another; and all the hoaſt encamped in the fields. But the Bayliffe of the Towne, ſuſpecting all this countenance, to bee but the vaine flaſh of a falſe fire, did in the night with about foureſcore Archers, beſet, and ſet upon the houſe where the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earle of *Salisbury* lay; who were men but of weake reſiſtance by nature, but being put upon neceſſity, ſhewed great man-hood and reſiſtance in defending themſelves againſt the Townſmen. The Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earle of *Glouceſter* being in another Inne, were not able by force to reſcue their aſſociates: whereupon a certaine Prieſt of their company ſet divers houſes in the Towne on fire, ſuppoſing thereby to divert the townſmen from their aſſault, to the ſaving of their houſes and of their goods: but this fire greatly inflamed their fury, and made them more obſtinate in their attempt, crying out that they would never labour to reſcue their loſſes, but to revenge them,

and that with the blood of the Lords, vvhoſe flames ſhould be quenched. Then there aroſe confuſed clamours, and noyſes, all the towne being in an uproare, and in armes, ſhooting fiercely, and running upon the Lords with a raſh and deſperate rage; not caring to looſe many, whereof they had many to ſpare.

When the Earle of *Exeter*, and they that were with him, perceived the force of the aſſaylants dangerouſly to encreaſe, and that it was impoſſible for a few to ſuſtaine the fury of ſo many ſo obſtinately bent: they fled out of the back-ſide towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Armie to the reſcue: but the ſouldiers having heard a tumult, and ſeeing fire within the towne, ſuppoſed that the King was entred with all his puiſſance: whereupon being ſtrooke with a ſodain and falſe feare, and wanting a Commander of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and diſpearſed themſelves without meaſure; and ſo whilſt every

man

man endeavoured to ſave himſelfe, all were brought to their confuſion.

Thus the Duke of *Surrey*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, and the Lords, and Gentlemen which were in their company, were left to defend themſelves againſt the townesmen as they could: who manfully maintained the fight with great bloodſhed of their enemies, from midnight untill three of the clocke the next day in the afternoone: at the laſt, being inferiour both in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle were wonded to death and taken, and the ſame Evening their heads were ſtriken off and ſent to *London*: there were alſo taken Sir *Bennet Skelley*, Sir *Barnard Brokas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and twenty eight other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, who were ſent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution.

The Duke of *Exeter* when he found

the Army diſperſed and fled, fled likewiſe with Sir *John Shelley* into *Eſſex*, lamenting the certaine deſtruction which his raſhneſſe had procured to himſelfe, and to his friends, but moſt eſpecially to King *Richard*; if not as a party, yet as a cauſe of this unhappy tumult; many times hee did attempt to have eſcaped by Sea into *France*, but hee was alwayes driven backe by diſtreſſe of weather; and ſo wandring and lurking in ſecret places, hee was at the laſt attached as hee ſate at ſupper in a certain friends houſe, and led to *Plaſhy*, and there ſhortly after beheaded: ſo that a man might probably conjecture that the death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, was then brought in reckoning, who by his counſell and contryvance chiefly, in the ſame place had beene apprehended. An excellent example for all thoſe which meaſure their Actions either by their pleaſure, or by their power: that revenge of injurious dealing, although it be prolonged, yet doth never fayle, but com-

commeth ſurely, although perhaps ſlowly. This Duke was a man of high parentage, of a franke mind, and wealth anſwerable thereunto: openly praiſe-worthy, but his ſecret actions were hardly ſpoken of: hee was of conſent to all his brothers vices, and of counſaile to many, yet ſomewhat the more cloſe and vigilant man: audnot ſo much partaker of his proſperity, as violently carried with the current of his miſery.

The Earle of *Glouceſter* fled towards *Wales*, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at *Briſtow*: *Magdalen* the counterfeit of King *Richard*, flying into *Scotland*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered, with *W. Ferby*, another of King *Richards* Chaplaines. Divers other Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and baſe perſons, were in other places put to death; inſomuch as the King, though otherwiſe of a very temperate, and intreatable na-

ture, ſeemed to ſhew too hard and haughty dealing in revenging his owne injury, or rather maintaining the injury that hee had done: the heads of the chiefe conſpirators, were pitched upon poles, and ſet over *London* Bridge: in all other parts of the Realme a ſpectacle both lamentable and ugly was preſented to the view and terrour of others: bodies hewen in peices, heads and quarters of unfortunate diſmembred wretches putrifying above ground: not all for deſert, but many to ſatisfie, either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; inſomuch as many grave men openly gave forth, that in ſhort time there would be cauſe to wiſh King *Richard* againe, as being more tollerable to endure the cruelty of one, then of many, and to live where nothing, then where any thing might bee permitted.

The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* in whoſe houſe, and in whoſe head the confederacy began, hearing of theſe adventures

ventures, as hee was going betwene his Monaſtery and his Manſion fell ſodainely into a palſie, and ſhortly after without ſpeech ended his life; and although in this enterpriſe fortune gave policie the check, and by a ſtrange accident, which wiſdome could not foreſee, overturned the deviſe, yet is it certainely affirmed, that this Abbot firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling along, was like to have turned King *Henry* out of his ſeate. The Biſhop of *Carliel*, was condemned upon this treaſon, but the extremity of his feare, and griefe, cloſed up his dayes, and prevented the violence and ſhame of publike execution. And now King *Richard* after he had abdicated his dignity, did but ſhort time enjoy that ſweet ſecurity, which hee did vainely expect, and firſt all his goods which he did give in ſatisfaction of the injuries that he had done, were brought to diviſion & ſhare amongſt his enemies: ſhortly after he was removed frō the tower, to the caſtle of Ieeds in *Kent*;

and from thence to *Pomfret*, to the end that by often changing he might either more ſecretly be diſpatched, or more uncertainely found: here being kept in ſtreight priſon, both innocent and ignorant of this offence, hee was notwithſtanding made a party in the puniſhment. For King *Henry* perceiving that the Lords ſo farre prevailed with their late ſtratagem, that if their ſtomack had beene anſwerable to their ſtrength, and their bold beginning had not ended in faintneſſe and ſloath, they might have driven him to a hard hazard; cauſed King *Richard* to bee put to death, intending to make ſure, that no man ſhould cloak open rebellion, under the colour of following ſides, nor countenance his conſpiracy, either with the perſō or name of K. *Richard*: whether he did expreſly command his death, or no, it is a queſtion; out of queſtion he ſhewed ſome liking and deſire to the action, and gave allowance thereto when it was done.

The moſt current report at that time

time went, that he was princely ſerved every day at the Table, with abundance of coſtly meats, according to the order preſcribed by Parliament, but was not ſuffered to taſte or touch any one of them; and ſo periſhed of famine; being tormented with the preſence of that, whereof hee dyed for want, but ſuch horrible and unnaturall cruelty, both againſt a King and a kinſ-man, ſhould not proceed from King *Henry* (mee thinke) a man of a moderate and mild diſpoſition, nor yet from any other mind, which is not altogether both ſavage in humanity, and in religion prophane. One writer who would ſeeme to have the perfect intellgence of theſe affayres, maketh report, that King *Henry* ſitting at his Table ſad and penſive, with a deepe ſigh brake forth into theſe words: Have I no faithfull friend that will deliver mee of him, whoſe life will breed deſtruction to mee and diſturbance to the Realme, and whoſe death will bee a ſafety and quiet to both? for how

can

can I be free from feare, ſo long as the cauſe of my danger doth continue? and what ſecurity, what hope ſhall we have of peace, unleſſe the ſeed of ſedition bee utterly rooted out.

Vpon this ſpeech a certain Knight called Sir *Pierce* of *Extone*, preſently parted from the Court, accompanied with eight tall men, and came to *Pomfret*, and there commanded, that the Eſquire, who was accuſtomed to ſewe, and take the aſſay before King *Richard*, ſhould no more uſe that manner of ſervice: and let him (quoth hee) now eat well, for he ſhall not eat long. King *Richard* ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerved without courteſie or aſſay, wherat hee marvelled, and demanded of the Eſquire, why he did not his duty? the Eſquire anſwered, that hee was otherwiſe commanded by Sir *Pierce* of *Extone*, who was lately come from King *Henry*. The King being ſomewhat moved at his act and anſwer, tooke the carving knife

in

in his hand, & ſtruck the Eſquire therwith lightly on the head, ſaying, the devil take *Henry* of *Lancaſter* & thee together: with that Sir *Pierce* entred the Chamber, with eight men in harneys, every one having a bill in his hand: Whereupon King *Richard* perceiving their drift and his owne danger, put the table from him, and ſtepping ſtoutly to the formoſt man, wreſted the bill out of his hand, wherewith (although unarmed and alone) hee manfully defended himſelfe a good ſpace, and ſlew foure of his aſſaylants. Sir *Pierce* lept to the Chaire where King *Richard* was wont to ſit, whileſt the reſt chaſed him about the Chamber. At the laſt being forced towards the place where Sir *Pierce* was, hee with a ſtroake of his Pollax felled him to the ground: and forthwith hee was miſerably rid out of his miſerable life. It is ſaid that at the point of his death, he gathered ſome ſpirit, and with a faint and feeble voice, groaned forth theſe words.

My

My great Grandfather King *Edward* the ſecond, was in this manner depoſed, impriſoned, and murthered; by which meanes my Grandfather King *Edward* the third obtained poſſeſſion of the Crowne; and now is the puniſhment of that injury powred upon his next ſucceſſor. Well, this is right for me to ſuffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a time may joy at my death, and enjoy his deſire; but let him qualifie his pleaſures with expectation of the like juſtice: for God who meaſureth all our actions by the malice of our minds, will not ſuffer this violence unrevenged.

Whether theſe words proceeded from a diſtempered deſire, or from the judgement of his fore-ſight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir *Pierce* expecting great favour and rewards for his ungracious ſervice, was fruſtrated of both, and not onely miſſed that countenance for which hee hoped, but loſt that which before he had:

had: ſo odious are vices even where they are profitable.

Hereupon he grew at the firſt diſcontented, and afterwards mightily turmoyled and tormented in conſcience, and raging againſt himſelfe would often exclayme, that to pleaſure one unthankefull perſon, hee had made both him ſelfe and his poſterity, hateſull and infamous to all the world.

King *Henry* with great diſcontentment and diſquiet held the Kingdome during his life: and ſo did his ſonne King *Henry* the fifth: in whoſe time by continuall warres againſt the *French-men*, the malice of the humour was otherwiſe exerciſed and ſpent. But his ſecond ſucceſſour King *Henry* the ſixth was diſpoſſeſſed thereof, and togother with his young ſonne *Henry*, impriſoned and put to death, either by the commandement, or conniveuce of King *Edward* the fourth.

And

And hee alſo eſcaped not free; for hee dyed not without many and manifeſt ſuſpicions of poyſon: and after his death his two ſonnes were diſinherited, impriſoned, and butchered by their cruell Vncle the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who being a Tyrant and Vſurper, was lawfully ſlaine in the field; and ſo in his perſon (having no iſſue) the tragedie did end. Which are moſt rare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppreſſed, and of terrour to violent Dealers; that God in his ſecret judgement doth not alwayes ſo certainely provide for our ſafety, as revenge our injuries and harmes: and that all our unjuſt actions have a day of payment, and many times by way of retaliation, even in the ſame manner and meaſure wherein they were committed.

And thus was king *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force, as all Writers agree, although

though al agree not upon the manner of the violence. He was aman of perſonage, rather wel proportioned then tall, of great beauty, and grace, and comelineſſe in preſence; hee was of a good ſtrength, and no abject ſpirit; but the one by eaſe, the other by flattery were much abaſed. Hee deſerved many friends, but found few, becauſe hee ſought them more by liberality, then vertuous dealing Hee was marvellous infortunate in all his actions, which may very well be imputed to his negligence and ſloath; for he that is not provident can ſeldome proſper, but by his looſeneſſe will loſe, whatſoever fortune, or other mens labours doe caſt upon him. At the laſt hee was driven to ſuch diſtreſſe, that hee accounted it as a benefit, to be diſburdened of his royall dignity, for which other men will not ſticke, to put their goods, and lives, and ſoules in hazard.

Hee

Hee lived three and thirty yeares, and raigned two and twenty. His dead body was embalmed, and seared, and covered with Lead all save his face, and carried to *London*, and in all the chiefe places by the way, his face was uncovered and shewen, that by view thereof no doubt should bee made concerning his death. At *London* hee had a solemne obsequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, the King being present, and all the chiefe men of the Citie.

Then hee was conveyed to *Langley Abbey* in *Buckinghamshire*, about twenty miles from *London*, and there obscurely entered by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbot of S. *Albones*, and the Abbot of *Waltham*, without presence of noblemen, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the Funerals: but afterwarward at the commandement of King *Henry* the fifth, his body was taken up, and removed

moved to *Weſtminſter*, and honourably entombed amongſt his anceſtors, with Queene *Anne* his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and unfaithfull dealing. So hee whoſe life was alwaies tumultuous and unquiet, cound not readily find reſt for his bones, even after death. It was not amiſſe in regard of the Common-wealth that hee was dead; yet they who cauſed his death had ſmall reaſon to reckon it among their good deeds.

And thus doe theſe and the like accidents daily happen to ſuch Princes as will bee abſolute in power reſolute in will, and diſſolute in life.

This yeare *Humfrey*, the ſonne and heyre of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, dyed of the plague; as hee returned out of *Ireland*, where King *Richard* had left him priſoner and ſhortly after the Dutcheſſe his Mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes: this yeare alſo dyed

dyed *Thomas Mowbray* the Exiled Duke of *Norfolke*, whoſe death would much have beene lamented, if hee had not furthered ſo many lamentable deaths: but he over-lived his honour, and ſaw himſelfe accounted a perſon infamed and of no eſtimation. Likewiſe about this time, *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine* deceaſed, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no iſſue, but by *Ioan* his ſecond wife, hee left behind him three ſonnes, *Iohn*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*: this *Ioan* was afterwards married to King *Henry*: as hereafter ſhall appeare. Alſo this yeare *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke* departed this life, his honour not ſtayned, his fame not touched: he was a man very circumſpect and wary in his carriage, not careleſſe of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not deſirous, liberall of his owne, and of the common, ſparing: hee did not by obſtinate oppoſing himſelfe

ſelfe againſt the current of the time, raſhly haſten, either his fame, or his fall; but by moderation attained ſafely that degree of prayſe, and honour, which others aſpiring unto by deſperate courſes, wanne with ambitious death, without any other profit at all. He left behind him two noble ſons, expreſſe reſemblancers of his integrity: *Edward*, who ſucceeded in his dignity, and before was called Duke of *Aumerle*, and *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*. *Edward*, in the change of the ſtate, neither conſtantly kept his fidelity, nor ſtoutly maintained his treaſon. *Richard* tooke to wife the daughter and heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whoſe mother *Phillip* was ſole daughter and heyre to *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the third ſonne of King *Edward* the third, by which title and diſcent, his poſterity claimed the Crowne and Kingdome of this Realme from the ſucceſſors of King *Henry*, as hereafter more at large ſhall be declared.

Charles

Charles King of *France* loſt no time all this while in making preparation to invade *England*: and to that end had now rayſed an Army royall, which was brought downe into *Picardie*, and in a readineſſe to have beene tranſported. But it is very like that this haſte for the deliverance of King *Richard* did the more haſten his death: upon newes whereof the *French-men* perceiving their purpoſe for his reſtitution to bee to no purpoſe, gave over the enterpriſe; ſome being grieved that the occaſion was loſt of making ſpoyle of ſo plentifull a countrey, others being well content to be diſcharged of that hope, together with the hazard whereupon it depended. Shortly after the French King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſage into *England*, to treate, or rather intreate, that Lady *Iſabel* his daughter, who had beene eſpouſed to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee reſtored to him againe. King *Henry* moſt honourably received theſe Embaſſadors, and gave in

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anſwer, that he would ſpeedily ſend his Commiſſioners to *Calice*, which ſhould fully commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weighty affayres concerning both the Realmes.

Not long after hee ſent *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, and *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* to *Calice*: Alſo the French King ſent the Duke of *Burbone*, and certaine others to *Bulleine*. Theſe Commiſſioners did often meet, ſometimes at one place, and ſometimes at another: the French-men eſpecially required, that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be reſtored, ſhewing that King *Charles* her Father had given in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing ſhould be concluded. On the other ſide the Engliſhmen deſired that ſhee might bee married to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, King *Henries* eldeſt ſonne, a man anſwerable to her in equall degree, both of blood and of yeares: but the French King denyed that hee would

would any more joyne affinity with the Engliſh nation, whoſe aliance had once ſo unfortunately ſucceeded: then they entred into ſpeech of a perpetuall peace, but hereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be delivered to King *Charles* her Father, but without Dower; becauſe the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was never conſummate: by reaſon whereof ſhee was not donable by the very treaty of the marriage. Alſo the ſurceaſe of armes which foure yeares before had beene made with King *Richard*, for the terme of thirty yeares, was continued and confirmed for the time then unexpired. Some Authors affirme, that a new truce was taken, but theſe alſo are at difference: for ſome report that it was during the life of both the Kings; others, that it was but for a ſhort time, which hath the more apparance of truth, by reaſon of the

open

open hostility which the yeare following did breake forth betweene the two Realmes.

Shortly after King *Henry* sent the Lady *Isabel* under the conduct of Lord *Thomas Percy* Earle of *Worcester*, in Royall estate to *Calis*: she was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable personages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Iewels and Plate which shee brought into *England*, with a great surplusage of rich gifts bestowed upon her by the King: at *Calis* shee was received by the Earle of S. *Paul*, Lieutenant for the *French* King in *Picardy*, and by him was conducted to King *Charles* her Father, who afterwards gave her in marriage to *Charles* Sonne to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*: and so was either rest, or respite of warres procured in *France*, whilest neerer stirres might bee brought to some stay.

For within the Realme, the fire and fury of the late sedition was scarcely quenched and quiet, but (that

the Common-wealth ſhould not ceaſe to bee torne, by multiplying of diviſions, one ſtreight ſucceeding another) the *Welſhmen*, upon advantage of the doubtfull and unſetled eſtate of King *Henry*, reſolved to break and make a defection; before either the King could ground his authority, or the people frame themſelves to a new obedience: and having learned that common cauſes muſt bee maintained by concord, they ſought by aſſemblies to eſtabliſh an aſſociation: and to ſet up their owne principality againe.

To this purpoſe they created for their Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Eſquire of *Wales*, a factious Perſon, and apt to ſet up diviſion and ſtrife: and although hee was of no great ſtate in birth; yet was hee great and ſtately in ſtomack: of an aſpiring Spirit: and in wit ſomewhat above the ordinary of that untrained people: bould, crafty, active, and as he liſted to bend his mind, miſchievous or induſtrious in equall degree, in deſires immoderate, and

and raſhly adventurous, in his young yeares he was brought up to the ſtudy of the Common law of the Realme, at *London*: and when hee came to mans eſtate, beſides a naturall fierceneſſe and hatred to the *Engliſh* name, he was particularly incenſed by a private ſuite, for certaine lands in controverſie, betweene the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen* and him; wherein his title was overthrowne; and being a man by nature not of the mildeſt, by this provocation he was made ſavadge and rough; determining either to repaire or to revenge his loſſe, by ſetting the whole ſtate on fire. Alſo his expence and liberality had beene too exceſſive for a great man to endure, which brought him to bareneſſe, too baſe for a meane man to beare: and therefore he muſt of neceſſity doe and dare ſomewhat, and more danger there was in ſoft and quiet dealing, then in hazarding raſhly. Herewith oportunity was then likewiſe preſented: for trouble ſometimes are moſt fit for great attempts,

and ſome likelihood there was, whileſt the King and the Lords were hard at variance, that harme might eaſily bee wrought to them both. Vpon theſe cauſes his deſire was founded, and upon theſe troubles his hope. But that his aſpiring and ambitious humour might beare ſome ſhew of honeſt meaning, hee pretended to his Countreymen the recovery of their free eſtate, the deſire whereof was ſo naturally ſweet, that even wilde birds will rather live hardly at large in the aire, then bee daintily dieted by others in a Cage; and opportunity was at that time fitly offered, or elſe never to bee expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falſely and colourably intituled a peace, whileſt the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fully wexen, and either of them grew weake by waſting the other: neither was their any difference which of them ſhould prevaile, ſith the warre touched both alike, inſomuch as the overthrow would ruine the one, and the

the victory the other; So he exhorted them to take courage and armes: and first to kill all the *Engliſh* within their territories, for liberty and Lords could not endure together: then to reſume their ancient cuſtomes and lawes, whereby more then armes, Common-wealths are eſtabliſhed and enlarged: ſo ſhould they be a people uncorrupt, without admixion of forraigne manners of bloud; and ſo ſhould they forget ſervitude, and either live at liberty or elſe perhaps, be Lords over other.

Hereupon many flocked unto him, the beſt for love of liberty, the baſeſt for deſire of booty and ſpoile, inſomuch as in ſhort time hee became Commander of competent forces to ſtand openly in the field. And being deſirous to make ſome proofe of his proweſſe, hee ſharply ſet upon his old adverſary *Reignold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, whoſe poſſeſſions hee waſted and ſpoiled; ſlew many of his men, and tooke himſelfe priſoner; yet gave him faire and friendly entertainment,

and promiſed him releaſement, if he would take his Daughter to wife. This he deſired, not ſo much for need of his ability or aid, as ſuppoſing that the name and countenance of a Lord, would give reputation to the hõuſe that was then but in riſing: but the Lord *Grey* at the firſt did not ſo much refuſe as ſcorne the offer: affirming that hee was no ward, to have his marriage obtruded upon him. Well (ſaid *Owen Glendore*) although you bee not my ward, yet are you in my ward: and the ſuing your livery will coſt double the marriage money that elſewhere you ſhall procure. The Lord *Grey* being not very rich to diſcharge his ranſome, and ſeeing no other meanes of his deliverance, at the laſt accepted the condition, and tooke the Damoſell to wife; notwithſtanding his deceitfull Father in law, trifled out the time of his enlargement untill hee died.

The *Welſhmen* being confident upon this ſucceſſe, beganne to breake into the borders of *Hereford-ſhire*, and to

to make ſpoile and prey of the Countrey: againſt whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who for feare of King *Henry* had withdrawne himſelfe (as hath beene declared) to *Wigmore* Caſtle, aſſembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and meeting with the *Welchmen*, they joyned together a ſharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a looſe skirmiſh, but ſtanding ſtill and maintaining their place, they endeavoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and reſolution of both ſides was alike, but the *Welſhmen* were ſuperiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne *Leader*, who with his preſence every where aſſiſted at need, enflaming his ſouldiers, ſome with ſhame and reproofe, others with praiſe and encouragement, all with hope and large promiſes: but the *Engliſh-men* had no certaine generall, but many confuſed Commanders, yea every man was a Commander to him-

ſelfe, preſſing forward or drawing back, as his owne courage or feare did move him. Inſomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by their ill governed boldneſſe, had not *Owen Glendor* preſently upon the breaking up of the field, ceaſed to purſue the execution, and ſhewed himſelfe more able to get a victory, then skilfull to uſe it. But even to his ſide the victory had coſt bloud, and many of thoſe which remained, were either wounded or weary: the night was neere alſo, and they were in their enemies Countrey; by which meanes our men had liberty to retire rather then runne away, no man being hot to follow the chaſe. They loſt of their company about a thouſand men, who ſold their lives at ſuch a price, that when manhood had done the hardeſt againſt them, certaine manniſh, or rather deviliſh women, whoſe malice is immortall, exerciſed a vaine revenge upon their dead bodies; in cutting off their privy parts and their noſes, whereof the one they

ſtuffed

ſtuffed in their mouths, and preſſed the other betweene their buttocks; and would not ſuffer their mangled carcaſſes to bee committed to the earth, untill they were redeemed with a great ſumme of money. By which cruell covetouſneſſe, the faction loſt reputation and credite with the moderate ſort of their own people; ſuſpecting that it was not liberty but licentiouſneſſe which was deſired: and that ſubjection to ſuch unhumane minds would bee more inſupportable then any bondage.

In this conflict, the Earle of *March* was taken priſoner and fettered with chaines, and caſt into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was ſolicited by many Noble men, to uſe ſome meanes for his deliverance; but he would not heare on that care; hee could rather have wiſhed him and his two ſiſters in Heaven, for then the onely blemiſh to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this miſchance did not preſerve him from a greater miſchiefe.

Owen Glendore by the proſperous ſucceſſe of his actions, was growne now more hard to be dealt with, and hautely minded, and ſtood even upon termes of equality with the King: whereupon he proceeded further to invade the Marches of *Wales* on the Weſt ſide of *Severne*; where he burnt many Villages and Townes, ſlew much people, and returned with great prey, and praiſes of his adherents. Thus he ceaſed not this yeare to infeſt the borderers on every ſide, amongſt whom he found ſo weake reſiſtance, that he ſeemed to exerciſe rather a ſpoile then a warre. For King *Henry* was then detained with his chiefeſt forces, in another more dangerous ſervice, which beſides theſe former vexations and hazards, this firſt yeare of his raigne happened unto him.

For the *Scots* knowing that changes were times moſt apt for attempt, and upon advantage of the abſence of all the chiefe *Engliſh* borderers, partly by occaſion of the Parliament, and partly

partly by reaſon of the plague which was very grievous that yeare in the North parts of the Realme: they made a road into the Countrey of *Northumberland*, and there committed great havock and harme. Alſo on a certaine night, they ſodainly ſet upon the Caſtle of *Werke*, the Captaine whereof Sir *Thomas Gray*, was then one of the Knights of the Parliament: and having ſlaine the watch partly a ſleepe, partly amazed with feare, they brake in and ſurpriſed the place: which they held a while, and at the laſt ſpoiled and ruinated and then departed. Whileſt further harmes were feared, this paſſed with light regard. But when great perils were paſt, as if no worſe miſfortune could have befallen, then was it much ſorrowed and lamented. And in revenge thereof, the *Engliſhmen* invaded and ſpoiled certaine Ilands of *Orkney*: and ſo the loſſe was in ſome ſort repaired: yet (as in the repriſals of warre it commonly falleth out) neither againſt thoſe particular perſons

sons which committed the harme, nor for those which suffered it: but one for another were both recompenced and revenged. Againe, the *Scots* set forth a fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*, with direction to attempt as occasion should bee offered: his first purpose was against our Fishermen; but before he came to any action, hee was incountred by certaine *English* ships, and the greatest part of his fleet taken. Thus peace still continuing between both the Realmes, a kind of theevish hostility was dayly practised, which afterwards brake out into open warre upon this occasion.

George of *Dunbarre* Earle of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, had betrothed *Elizabeth* his Daughter to *David*, the Sonne and Heire apparent of *Robert* King of *Scots*, and in regard of that marriage to be shortly celebrated and finished, hee delivered into the Kings hands a great summe of money for his Daughters dowry. But *Archibald* Earle *Dowglasse* disdaining that the

Earle

Earle of *Marches* bloud ſhould bee preferred before his, ſo wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *David* his Son refuſed the Earle of *Marches* Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle *Douglaſſe*: Earle *George* not uſed to offers of diſgrace, could hardly enforce his patience to endure this ſcorne: and firſt hee demanded reſtitution of his money, not ſo much for care to obtaine, as for deſire to pick an occaſion of breaking his allegeance. The King would make to him neither payment nor promiſe, but trifled him off with many deluſory and vaine delayes. Whereupon hee fled with all his family into *England*, to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, intending with open diſloyalty both to revenge his indignity, and recover his loſſe. The *Engliſhman* with open armes entertained the oportunity; with whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance, the Earle made divers incurſions into *Scotland*, where hee burnt many Townes, and ſlew much people, and dayly purchaſed

ſed with his ſword, great aboundance of booty and ſpoile.

Hereupon King *Robert* deprived the Earle of his honour, ſeized all his goods and poſſeſſions, and wrote unto King *Henry*, as hee would have the truce betweene them any longer to continue; either to deliver unto him, the Earle of *March* and other Traytours to his perſon and ſtate, or elſe to baniſh them the Realme of *England*. King *Henry* perceiving ſuch jarres to jogger betweene the two Realmes, that the peace was already as it were out of joynt, determined not to loſe the benefit of the diſcontented Subjects of his enemy: whereupon hee returned an anſwer to the Herauld of *Scotland*, that hee was neither weary of Peace, nor fearefull of Warres, and ready as occaſion ſhould change, either to hold the one, or hazard the other: but the word of a Prince was of great weight; and therefore ſith hee had granted a ſafe conduct to the Earle of *March* and his company,

pany, it were an impeachment to his honour, without juſt cauſe to violate the ſame. Vpon this anſwer the King of *Scots* did preſently proclaime open warre againſt the King of *England*, with bloud, fire, and ſword.

King *Henry* thought it policy, rather to beginne the warre in his enemies Countrey, then to expect it in their owne, becauſe the Land which is the ſeat of the warre, doth commonly furniſh both ſides with neceſſary ſupply; the friend by contribution, and the enemy by ſpoile: Therefore ſending certaine Troopes of horſemen before him, both to eſpy and to induce an uncertaine terrour upon the enemy, hee entred into *Scotland* with a puiſſant army; wherewith hee burnt many Villages and Townes, caſt downe diverſe Caſtles, and ruined a great part of the Townes of *Edenborough* and *Lith*, ſparing nothing but Churches & religious houſes: ſo that in all places as hee paſſed, the ſpectacle was ougly and

and grisly which he left behind him; bodies torne in pieces, mangled and putrified limmes, the aire infected with stinck, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the Countrey wasted, the Grasse and Corne troden downe and spoiled; insomuch as a man would have said that warre is an exercise not of manhood, but of inhumanity. They that fled before the army, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling above truth the *English* forces, to diminish thereby their shame in running from shame.

In the end of *September*, the King besieged the Castle of *Maydens* in *Edenborough*; wherein were *David* Duke of *Rothsay* Prince of the Realme, and *Archibald* Earle *Dowglasse*; the inconstancy of the one, and ambition of the other, were principall causes of all this warre.

During this siege, *Robert* Duke of *Albony*, who was appointed Governour of the Realme, because the King was sick and unable to rule, sent an Herauld

Herauld unto *Henry*; aſſuring him upon his honour that if hee would abide but ſix dayes at the moſt, hee would give him battaile; and either remove the ſiege, or looſe his life.

The King was well pleaſed with theſe tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of ſilke, and a chaine of gould, and promiſed him in the word of a Prince, to abide there and expect the Governour, during the time by him prefixed.

The ſix dayes paſſed almoſt ſix times over, and no more newes was heard of the Governour, either by preſence, or by meſſenger. Winter came on, and victuaile failed, the Countrey was cold and fruitleſſe, and it rained every day in great aboundance; ſo that partly by hunger, partly by diſtemperature of the weather, the Souldiers beganne to dye of the *Flixe*; it is very like that theſe accidents ſtayed the Governour from performing his promiſe, for policy was againſt it, to hazard his men in the field, when Winter and want,

want, two forceable foes had given the charge upon his enemies: certaine it is, that they moved the King to remove his ſiege, and to depart out of *Scotland*, without any battaile or skirmiſh offered.

Both the Wardens of the *Marches* were all this time in *Scotland* with the King: upon which advantage the *Scots* did breake into *Northumberland*, and burnt certaine Townes in *Bamborough* Shire. The *Engliſhmen* were ſpeedily up in armes; but the *Scots* more ſpeedily made their returne, or elſe no doubt they had beene mette with, and encountered.

Againe when King *Henry* had diſcharged his army, the *Scots* being deſirous not ſo much of life as of revenge, made a ſudaine road into *England*, under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of *Dirleton*, and Sir *Patrick Hebburne*, of *Hales*: but all the harme which they wrought did rather waken then weaken the *Engliſh-men*: and

and they themſelves were ſomewhat encouraged, but nothing enriched, by that which they got.

Not long after, Sir *Patrick Hebburne*, being lifted up in deſire and hope, reſolved to undertake a greater enterprize: the people, which are eaſily led by proſperous ſucceſſe, in great Companies reſorted to him; but hee was loath to have more fellowes in the ſpoile, then hee thought ſhould need in the danger: therefore with a competent army of the men of *Loughdeane*, hee invaded *Northumberland*, where hee made great ſpoile, and loaded his Souldiers with priſoners and prey. There was no queſtion made what perill might bee in the returne: Therefore they marched looſely and licentiouſly as in a place of great ſecurity, not keeping themſelves to their enſignes and order: but the Earle of *Northumberlands* Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good array, ſet upon

upon them at a Towne in *Northumberland* called *Nesbit*. The *Scots* rallied as well as the ſuddainneſſe did ſerve, and valiantly received the charge; ſo that the battaile was ſharp and cruell, and continued a good time, with great mortality. In the end, the enemies rankes grew thinne, as being rather confuſedly ſhuffled together, then orderly and firmely compacted: and when the Vice-warden felt them weake in the ſhock, and yeelding under his hand, with a company which hee purpoſely retained about him for ſuddaine diſpatches and chances of warre, hee fiercely charged and diſordered them. Sir *Patrick Hebburne* being cleane deſtitute both of Counſaile and courage ranne up and downe from one place to another, commanding many things, and preſently forbidding them againe; and the leſſe of force his directions were, the oftner did hee change them: anon (as it happeneth in loſt and deſperate caſes) every man became a Commander,

mander, and none a putter in execution: ſo the rankes looſed and brake, and could not bee reunited, the victour hotly purſuing the advantage. Then might you have ſeene a grievous ſpectacle, purſuing, killing, wounding, and taking, and killing thoſe that were taken, when better were offered: every where weapons, and dead bodies, and mangled limmes lay ſcattered: and ſometimes in thoſe that were ſlaine, appeared at their death both anger and valour.

Sir *Patrick Hebburne* thought of nothing leſſe then either fleeing or yeelding, but thruſting among the thickeſt of his enemies, honourably ended his life. Many other of his lineage, and the flower of all *Loughdeane* were likewiſe ſlaine.

There were alſo taken, Sir *Iohn* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *William Baſſe*, *Iohn* and *Thomas Hablinſton* Eſquires, and a great multitude of common ſouldiers.

On

On the *English* ſide, no great number was ſlaine; and thoſe of no great ſervice and degree. And with theſe troubles the life and raigne of King *Henry* the fourth ended.

FINIS.